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CRETAN EXPEDITION

III.

EPIGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES IN GORTYNA¹

[PLATES IX, X]

THE search for building material among the ruins of ancient cities is a custom which in Crete has assumed incredible proportions. It may almost be said that stone quarries are an unknown thing on the island, and that all the village builders, except in a few places which are too far off from ancient settlements, work with second-hand material. One of the principal centres of the trade in the materials from ruins is the territory of Gortyna. At this point the ancient structures, which are thickly scattered over a vast area, are built with an excellent limestone which is both strong and easy to work. The peasants usually have nothing to do but to excavate a half-metre below the present level to find walls, which extend to a further depth of

¹Explorations in Crete were conducted by Professor Federico Halbherr, in 1893-94, under the auspices and at the expense of the Archaeological Institute of America. The results of this Cretan Expedition are published by the Institute, the articles constituting a series of Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America. The earlier articles in this series—Report on the Expedition of the Institute to Crete: Introductory Note; I, Inscriptions of Various Cretan Cities; II, Christian Inscriptions—were published in this JOURNAL, First Series, Vol. XI (1896), No. 4, pp. 525-611.

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two or three metres,¹ and which, when freed and taken to pieces, give, with but little work, a profit many times greater than that of several years' cultivation of the land itself. The stones are sold to those who are building houses in the villages near the ancient city, and also exported to the other villages of the Mes-sarà-plain and to the neighboring provinces. The Turkish government, so zealous in preventing the work of explorers who come to carry on scientific work or excavations, pays no attention whatever to the work of destruction which is daily going on under its eyes. In fact, when it has public constructions to erect, it goes so far as to procure its material by the very same system, thus often tearing down important monuments which disappear without leaving a trace of their former existence.

It is work of this kind which brought to light the traces of walls, which were afterwards excavated systematically by the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction in 1887, and led to the discovery of the Python and of the earliest known Cretan inscriptions. At another point, near the Lethaeus, those in search of constructive material, a few years ago, came across the buildings which arose along the sides of the *Agora*, but, there being no archaeologist to prevent it, they destroyed these buildings almost entirely, preserving only the large statue of the Asclepiad and the Roman imperial heads, which are reproduced and published in subsequent articles in this JOURNAL. The beautiful head of Aphrodite, of which I shall give an account and a reproduction in another article,² was also found shortly afterward in similar circumstances not far from the Python and the Basilica, near the remains of a building with a *crepidoma*, which was, I believe, a temple, but had been almost entirely destroyed before it could be studied.

On my return to Gortyna, at the beginning of 1894, the two principal artificial quarries then being exploited were: one on the property belonging to the Turk Risvàn-Agà-Katoglaki, near

¹The level of the ancient city usually varies at Gortyna between two and one-half to three and one-half metres below the present level of the ground.

²For the statue of the Asclepiad, the Roman imperial heads, and the head of Aphrodite, see pp. 289-295, 266-274, 241 f. (PLATES XI, XII.)

Mitropolis, and the other in two neighboring fields of Anagnosti Gligoraki and of the Savuidaki brothers, between this village and that of Haghioidi Deká, very close to the Vigles and the temple of the Pythian Apollo.

A fragment of an archaic inscription found in the first locality, and some decrees of proxeny, which came to light in the second, at once attracted my attention. I examined carefully the ruins of buildings first brought to light, and already in part demolished, and noticed that in both places the walls were of a relatively late period, constructed, partly of material taken from earlier buildings and partly of inscribed stones. Without losing time I began negotiations with the owners, in order to put off the excavation and demolition and to explore by means of well-directed experiments the remains that were still underground.

Under the very difficult conditions made for me by the Cretan government, the greatest circumspection was necessary. To have begun work by excavation on a large scale and with a numerous personnel, such as would have been required by the wide extent of the ruins near the Vigles, would have been to compromise the success of the entire plan. For that reason I put off the exploration of the principal building to a later period and opened the campaign by the easier and less important exploration in the field of Risván Agà, near Mitropolis.

I.

Near Mitropolis.

Less than two weeks of exploration, in the ruins brought to light in this place, were sufficient to show that the few pieces of wall still left were only the remnants of preceding devastations, and that the plan and purpose of the building of late date, which stood upon this ground, could no longer be recognized. There was nothing then worthy of attention left but the inscribed material employed in these structures. But this also proved to be rather scarce: I was able to discover only three pieces—the Nos. 2, 3 and 4 here reproduced. No. 1 had been previously brought to light by the peasants.

this in the larger fragment of the northern wall,¹ and we shall find another instance shortly, even in an inscription which is not archaic.²

The writing was probably divided into columns, as in the inscriptions of the Lethaeus, but as there is no pair of lines in which the lacuna on the right can be supplied with perfect certainty, it is impossible to determine how far the lines extended on the neighboring block, and, therefore, the width of the column itself. Still, both the nature and contents of the inscription are clear.

What we have here is a regulation on sacrifices. As in the case of the Great Inscription and the two texts of the northern wall,³ it begins with the simple formula of invocation [Θιω]ί in l. 1, without the addition of date or of the authority issuing the edict. It is therefore not a decree, but a law very probably forming part of the Gortynian code and containing the beginning of a chapter on sacred things.

L. 2. It begins by noting the victim to be sacrificed to Zeus: τῷ Ζεὺ τῷ The epithet is lost. It is perhaps Ζεὺς Βιδάτας, the Idaean Zeus (Φιδάτας) or Ζεὺς Ἑκατόμβαιος, for whose worship in Gortyna we have the testimony of Hesychius (Ἑκατόμβαιος . . . Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνῃ). The name of the animal is also lost. We may imagine it to be τάφυρος.

Ll. 3, 4. The divinity which comes naturally after Zeus is Hera, and to her we find also in the fragment of the Python⁴ that the sheep is sacrificed. I supply τῷ Ἑρᾷ] οἷς θέλεια λευκά, but I do not exclude the possibility that if the lines were very long, the article on the sacrifice to Hera may have been entirely lost in the part destroyed, and that the οἷς of l. 2 is the offering to a third divinity whose name is lacking. The form οἷς for οἶς is found also in Homer (*Od.* ι 425). The last letters of the line are too few to allow of a safe reconstruction of the following phrase. Still it seems to me that only two conject-

¹ *Monumenti Antichi*, III, p. 287, No. 153.

² See our No. 21, below.

³ *Mon. Ant.* III, pp. 293-296, No. 154.

⁴ *Mon. Ant.* III, p. 19, No. 8.

ures are possible: we either have here, as also below in line 7, a prescription regarding the *ιερώσυνα* which belonged to the priest, or else the prohibition which recurs in sacrificial regulations concerning the offering of imperfect victims on the altar. In the first case I should propose τὸ δὲ κό[διον ὁ ἱερεὺς λαβέτο] on the basis of the Hesychian gloss κώδιον· σκῦλον ἢ δέρμα προβάτου χωρὶς σώματος. In the second τὸ δὲ κο[λοβὸν μὲ θύεσθαι . . .].

Ll. 5, 6. I believe that the new word *μῶα* is to be explained only by the Hesychian gloss *μναάδας· τὰς ἀμελγομένας αἰγας*. The word is doubtless cognate in root and meaning with the common *ἀμνάς*=*ἀμνίς* ('a little she-lamb'). In Cretan it would be written *μῶας* (for *μνάας*), genitive *μῶατος* (instead of *μῶαδος*), just as the forms *Ἀρτάμιτος*, *Ἀρτάμιτι* appear in place of *Ἀρτέμιδος*, *Ἀρτέμιδι*. Therefore *λευκ[ὰ] μῶα*. Then follows: *τὰν δὲ βοῦαν ὁ ἱερεὺς λαβέτο*. This word *βοῦα*, or *βοῖα*, or *βῶα*, as it may be written, is also new. The formation is analogous to that of the word *οἶα*, *ῥα*, *ῥα* or, as is sometimes accented, *ῥα*, 'sheepskin,' from *οἶς*. The primitive and proper meaning of *βοῦα* can only be 'ox-hide'; but if the word here refers to the victim which immediately precedes, and not to some ox or bull named in one of the lost portions, we must say that it is used with the general meaning of *δέρμα*.

Ll. 7, 8. The divinity which in the oath of the Cretan *agelastai* of Dreros precedes Helios is Hermes.¹ A ram (*κριός*) was sacrificed to Hermes also during the festivities of Andania.² It is probable that we must refer to this divinity, who was worshipped at Gortyna under the name of *Ἐδάς* (see *Etym. Magn. s. v.*), the sacrifice which is mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph: *Ἐρμῶι κρινόν, τῷ Ἀλλοίῳ οὖν ἔρσε[να λευκόν]*. I propose *λευκόν* because the victim offered to Helios is always of light color in the Hellenic ritual. Cf. also Homer, *Il.* Γ 103:

οὔσσετε δ' ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἑτέρην δὲ μελαιναν,

Γῇ τε καὶ Ἡελίῳ,

and Philostratus, *Her.* X, 1, p. 309.

¹ Cauer², No. 121, l. 28.

² Cauer², No. 47, ll. 33, 34.

The names of the victims in the second part of this prescription (ll. 5–8) are in the accusative, while in the first part, as we see from l. 3, they are in the nominative. This text shows the same syntactic variations that appear in the fragments of the Pythion, unfortunately so mutilated, which relate to sacrifices.¹

Ll. 9, 10. A new paragraph begins here:

κατ]ὰ τὰδε παρθύσεται περίφοι[κος

The manner is determined in which the *perioikoi* are admitted to make sacrifices. It is the first time that we find in Cretan epigraphic monuments any mention of this class of population, which is often mentioned by writers, who differ, however, in their several accounts.² The Great Inscription, which considers individuals only from the juridical point of view, certainly includes *περίφοικοι* in the group of the *ἀπέταιροι*. Here, on the contrary, the point of view is political. The laws on sacrifices are made for the citizens of Gortyna; to the *ὑπήκοοι* who inhabit the territory and are not slaves, access to the sacrifices or *παρθυσία* is allowed on certain conditions. The compound is new. As to the form of the subjunctive aorist with imperative meaning *παρθύσεται* for *παρθύσεται*, *i. e.* *παρθύσῃται*, analogy must be sought in the subjunctives of non-thematic verbs *νύναται* (Great Inscription, Col. VIII, 20, 33), *δέατοι* (Inscription of Tegea, Collitz 1222, 16, 18), etc.

Ll. 11, 12. τε τρύνης κᾶμνάν, τὸν δ' ἄλλων (or τὸν δ' ἄλλον). Nothing can be made out of this paragraph. The form *τρίνης* is known from the Great Inscription. *κᾶμνάν* is evidently a crasis of *καὶ ἁμνάν* and is to be placed by the side of the known examples *κᾶδελπιοί*, *κᾶνπιδέμας* of the inscriptions of the Le-thaeus.³ Ἀμνά (*ἁμνή*) is 'ewe-lamb.'

Ll. 13, 14. The sacrifices noted in these two lines are blood-

¹ *Mon. Ant.* III, pp. 22–23, Nos. 8, 9, etc.

² Aristotle, *Pol.* II, 10, 3, p. 1272 a; II, 10, 8, p. 1272 b; II, 10, 1, p. 1271 b; II, 10, 4, p. 1272 a; II, 9, 3, p. 1269 b; Sosicrates and Dosiadas in Athenaeus VI, p. 263 f—264 a; Hesychius, *s. v.* ἀφαμῶται.

³ Some prefer on the other hand to explain these forms as effects of the elision of the diphthong in *καὶ* (*κ' ἁδελπιοί*, *κ' ἁνπιδέμας*).

less offerings—in particular, of grain or flour and of cheese:

. . . . μ]εδιμνιαῖα καὶ τυρῶ ἐμι

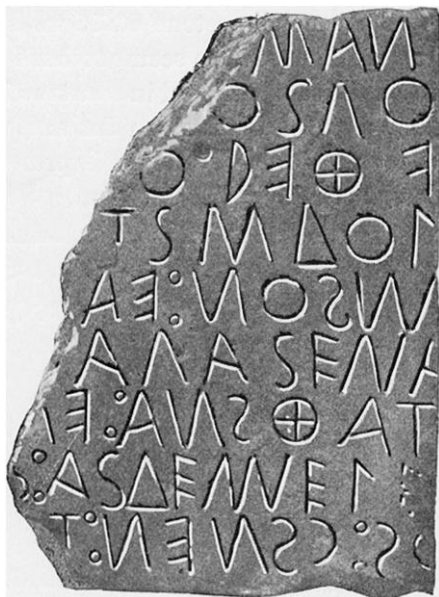
Before μεδιμνιαῖα we might possibly supply ἄλπιτα (ἄλφιτα); after τυρῶ there followed either the name of a measure or an appellative similar in meaning to the τυροῦ καπυροῦ which was sacrificed at Thera,¹ perhaps ἐμι[πύρο] or ἐμι[όπτο], (ἡμιπύρου, ἡμιόπτου). Sacrifices of barley and grain were made in Thera to the Mother of the Gods; cf. inscription No. 377 of Dittenberger's *Sylloge* ll. 8–14: θύσονται βούν καὶ πυρῶν ἐγ μεδίμνου καὶ κριθῶν ἐγ δύο μεδίμνων καὶ οἶνου μετρητὰν καὶ ἄλλα ἀπάργματα The worship of this divinity, who had a temple at Phaestus,² must have been usual in the territory of Gortyna, especially among the *periōikoi*. The offerings of cheese are common in the Hellenic cult. According to Seleucus, quoted by Athenaeus XIV, 76, p. 658 d, a special quality was used in Crete for certain sacrifices which was called *female cheese*: τοὺς δὲ λεπτοὺς τῶν τυρῶν καὶ πλατεῖς Κρήτες θηλείας καλοῦσι, ὥς φησι Σέλευκος, οὓς ἐν θυσῖαις τιςὶν ἐναγίζουσι.

2. The following fragment is of a slightly earlier date, and in its writing, its *ductus* and its whole aspect resembles very closely the texts of the Pythion, and is in so far removed from those of the Lethaeus. Still, the alphabet has already undergone a certain reform, the *η* being wanting and its place taken by *ε*. Other characteristic letters, like the spiral *β*, the *ζ*, or the *φ*, do not occur in the fragment, but its antiquity is confirmed by the presence of the dividing signs between the words which here, for the first time in Cretan inscriptions, are formed of two points or rather superposed circlelets, whereas in the texts hitherto known they consisted of a simple vertical line. The letters are of large size (sixth or seventh century B. C.) and are rather unevenly spaced. The inscription is *boustrophedon*, but the *ρ*, the only time that it occurs, is placed in a position contrary to the direction of the line. This stone also is a wall-block which

¹ Will of Epicteta: Cauer², No. 148, E. l. 36 – F. l. 1.

² See the inscription of Phaestus in the *Museo Italiano*, III, p. 735, No. 183.

preserves all its edges, excepting that on the left. Its dimensions are: height 0.655 m., width 0.50 m., and thickness 0.14 m.



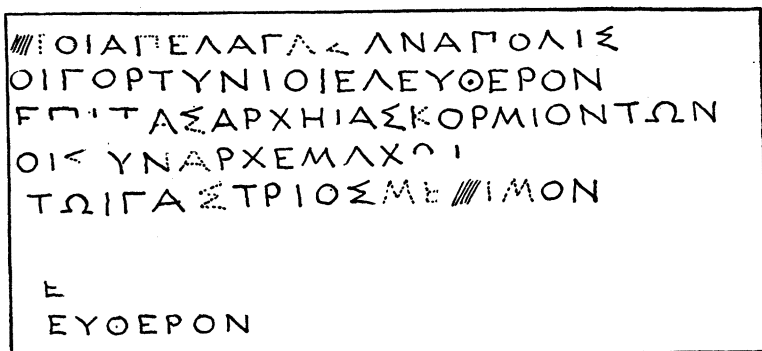
We have on this fragment the remnant of a law or decree probably in reference to emancipation, but nothing can be made out of it.

. *νας*
 οἱ Γο[ρτύνιοι?
 ἐλέ]φθερο[ν (or ς)
 αἰ δε] τις δόλ[ον?
 5 κοσ]μίωv ἐ ᾗ[λλος?
 λ]αγαῖεν α
 τὰ θίνα ε
 ι, αἰ δὲ μὲ λε[ῖοι?
 ο]ι πίνεν τ

For the form $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon']\varphi\theta\rho o[\nu$ of l. 3 compare the fragment of the Pythion, No. 75 in *Mon. Ant.* III, p. 56, and other analogous cases in the inscriptions of this period.

3. The following inscription has the ordinary non-archaic writing and, judging from the form of the letters, may belong to the third century B. c.

A wall-slab of the usual limestone 0.315 m. high; 0.71 m. long; 0.18 m. thick. The surface seems to have been slightly chiselled away when the slab was used in constructions of a later period; the letters have become very faint and would be extremely difficult to read did they not still preserve traces of rubrication. Their height is 0.015—0.03 m.



Θ]ιοί· ἀπελάγ[ασα]ν ἃ πόλιν,
οἱ Γορτύνιοι, ἐλεύθερον,
ἐ]πὶ τὰς ἀρχήϊας κορμίωντων
οὐδ' [σ]ὺν Ἀρχεμ[ά]χ[ω]ι
5 τῶι Γάστριος, Με.ιμον
ἐ-
(λ)εύθερον.

‘Under the magistracy of the *cosmoi* who were with Archemachus, son of Gastris, the city of the Gortynians emancipated Me.imon.’

The ἐ[λ]εύθερον, which is inscribed on the lower part of the stone, is entirely pleonastic and may even belong to another inscription carved upon the wall-block which in the primitive construction was placed to the left of this one.

The inscription is very remarkable for its strange syntax. In lines 1, 2 instead of ἃ πόλιν τῶν Γορτυνίων the reading is: ἃ πόλιν

οἱ Γορτύνιοι.¹ But more difficult is the period contained in the three following lines in which the date is given by means of the eponymous *cosmos* and his colleagues. For the simple and regular formula: ἐπὶ τᾷς ἀρχῆϊας τῶν σὺν Ἀρχεμάχῳ τῷ Γάστριος κορμιόντων the writer of the text has preferred to substitute a very forced ellipsis of the formula: ἐπὶ τᾷς ἀρχῆϊας τῶν κόρμων οἱ σὺν Ἀρχεμάχῳ τῷ Γάστριος ἐκόρμιον.

The genitive Γάστριος is clear on the stone. The proper name is, therefore, Γάστρις or Γάσστρις, and not Πάσστρις as I had erroneously read in a sepulchral inscription of Gortyna in the *Museo Italiano*, III, p. 714, No. 162.

This, the first complete act of emancipation which we possess from Crete, confirms what had been indicated by the archaic decree on the *apeleutheroi* (*Mon. Ant.* III, p. 73, No. 148) and the non-archaic fragments in the *Museo Italiano* (III, pp. 693–696), that is, that emancipation, at least at Gortyna, was a purely lay act and was not invested with the religious form of ἀνάθεσις or of sale to the divinity, which is the most common form elsewhere. Here the πόλις emancipates a *public* slave, and by means of a document exposed on the walls of some temple, declares him to be ἐλεύθερος. But the inscription is for us too concise to admit of a description of the procedure in such cases. It would be desirable that ampler texts of this kind should be found in order to determine the rules on which such acts were based, rules which cannot be established with precision with the sole help of the archaic decree of *apeleutheroi* and the non-archaic fragments.

4. The last fragment is entirely insignificant. It also seems to form part of a wall-block of the usual limestone of Gortyna. Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.235 m. The letters are not very different from those of the preceding inscription and are 0.025–0.03 m. high; the ο is slightly smaller. In the last line perhaps . . . κορ[μ]ιόν[των] is to be read.



¹ Compare the Cypriote inscription of Idalion: Cauer², No. 472, l. 2.

II.

The Vigles.

When summer came, and the more acute period of Turkish persecution had passed, I was finally able to undertake during the months of August and September a long series of attempts to explore the building close to the *Vigles*.

In the field of the Savuidaki brothers, the search for building material had turned everything upside down. The outer parts of the walls that had been found had been destroyed and the stones collected had been partly gathered together near the trenches, partly scattered over the ground; holes in the ground, and mounds of earth and of fragments made with no order, covered almost the entire surface to be explored. Fortunately, however, there remained visible the end of a rectilinear and a piece of a curved wall, which, because they joined, seemed to form a corner of the building. This was sufficient to determine at once the line of the first two ditches to be dug. When the entire curve was uncovered and I found also on the other side of it the beginning of another straight wall, corresponding to the first, I opened the third trench and proceeded to excavate at the same time on both sides in the direction of the length of the building. These two straight parallel walls led in the direction of the field of Anagnosti Gligoraki, where a large hole, made a few months before by some laborers, had already resulted in the destruction of a part of one of the walls. In order to follow uninterruptedly their lines, I opened up in two places the modern unmortared wall which fences off the two fields, and continued the trenches until I came to the wall which enclosed the building on the fourth side, at a distance of 33.35 m. from the extreme end of the semi-circular wall.

I believed at first that the two long lateral walls were the remains of the outer walls of the building. But during the course of the excavation, traces were found of other walls joined to them not only at each end, but at other points, and which on one side led in the direction of other fields, and on the other side toward the public road, where it was impossible to attempt

to excavate owing to the difficulties created by the local government. The character of the building, however, was ascertained and its plan could be made sufficiently complete, except for certain details and the proportions of its width (Fig. 1).

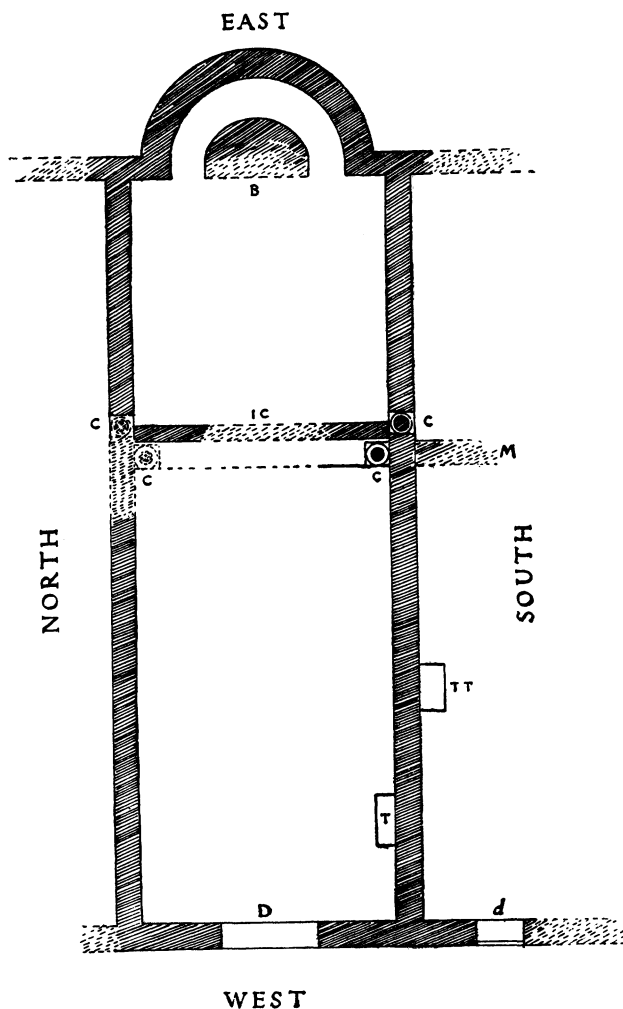


FIGURE 1.—GROUND PLAN OF BYZANTINE CHURCH AT GORTYNA.

The construction uncovered is a long rectangular hall duly

oriented, bounded by a semicircular apse on the east end and by a straight wall with a large central door (D) on the west. A transverse band of marble (I C), acting as a slightly raised base, follows the line of a step, at each end of which are two columns (C and C). As will appear, it formed the base on which rested a wooden wall dividing this large hall into two parts, one of which, the inner section, is smaller than the other and has a pavement a few centimetres higher. At the two ends of this wall there also stood two columns (c and c). At the end of the inner hall there is an almost semicircular platform (B), which follows the curved line of the apse. By the side of the foundations on the right or southern side wall, there are two tombs (T and TT) of different dimensions, one on the inside and the other on the outside of the wall. The first, 2.05 m. long, 0.62 m. wide, and 0.59 m. deep, was probably a simple tomb; the other, which is 1.97 m. long, 1 m. wide, was very much deeper (1.12 m.), and appears to have served as a *χωρευτήριο* or *ossilegium*.

This must be, therefore, the central nave of an early Byzantine church. The large platform inside the apse is the altar or *βήμα*. The transverse wooden wall which was placed on the marble plinth (I C) is the *iconostasis*; the space enclosed by it is the *hieron* and the larger outer hall was the space used by the congregation or, more exactly, by the men.

The western wall on the front of the building is continued to the right beyond the point where it meets the southern wall and has a small door (*d*), which seems to be nothing else than the entrance to one of the side aisles, to which must also belong the traces of a wall on the east end to the right of the apse. A similar side aisle must have existed on the left side where there are also traces of a wall as well on the front as on the back.

This church follows therefore the type of those oblong structures in three naves which were the common form of the Christian churches between the fourth and the sixth centuries in the East, especially in Syria. To help complete the plan of this church at Gortyna, which probably also had a narthex in front of the three doors, I can find no better parallel than the plan

of the church of Qalb-Louzeh belonging to this Syrian group (Fig. 2). The diagram I borrow from Dr. Essenwein's *Christlicher Kirchenbau*.¹

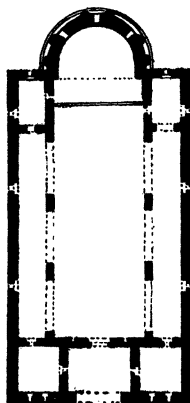


FIGURE 2.—PLAN OF CHURCH OF QALB-LOUZEH.

The two long parallel walls which I uncovered, and which are preserved only to a small height above the foundations, cannot have been originally very high, save perhaps on either side of the *hieron*. They were rather the foundations or stylobates for the pilasters or colonnades or for a mixed system of alternating pilasters and columns, as in the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin at Rome, dividing the central nave from the side aisles and sustaining the gallery for the women, the *γυναικωνίτις*. In fact, large fragments of overturned columns were found in various points of the excavation near these walls, and on the south wall there still remained *in situ* in perfect preservation the base of an Ionic or Corinthian column (c) which rose at the point of junction of the *iconostasis*. It has a plinth of 0.72 m. on each side and a diameter of 0.61 m., being slightly smaller than the two columns (C and C) which rise at the two ends of the step immediately below the *iconostasis*. The base of one of the latter columns has been preserved and has a plinth measuring 0.84 m. with a diameter of 0.67 m.

Of the two small rooms which we should expect to find on

¹ In Durm's *Handbuch der Architektur*, II, 3, p. 80, fig. 102.

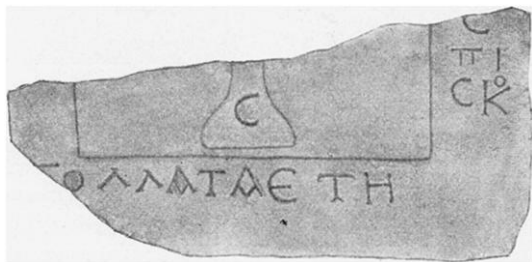
either side of the apse in so large a church, the *hagia prothesis* and the *diaconicon*, no trace has been found, but it would seem as if the wall marked M, of which traces are seen in the right aisle and to which another must have corresponded in the left, authorizes us to accept here, too, the arrangement that we find in these two rooms in the church of Qalb-Louzeh.

I hope that as soon as the question of excavations in Crete shall have been settled to the advantage of science, the Syllogos, or some other explorers, will take up this excavation in case the searchers for building material have left any trace of it; for these ruins certainly belong to one of the earliest and one of the largest Christian monuments of Gortyna. The length of the nave is 28.65 m., or, including the apse, 32.40 m.; its width is 8.40 m. The length of the *hieron* from the *iconostasis* to the end of the apse is 10.95 m., while the part of the nave open to the public is 20.80 m. long. The width of the main door (D) is 3.15 m., while that of the right-hand side door (*d*) is only 1.72 m.

The marble band which served as a base to the *iconostasis* forms a sort of second step, 0.30 m. high and 0.59 m. wide, with quite an elegant moulding on the front. The holes into which the wooden *iconostasis* was set can be seen on its surface.

The wall of the apse is strongly built, being 0.96 m. thick, while the other walls are only 0.76 m. thick; its foundations reach a depth of 2.45 m. below the surface of the field. The radius of the apse is about 3.40 m. with an inner chord of 6.60 m. The base of the altar, built in a large and almost semi-circular block of stone work, is very imperfectly preserved and has a frontage of 4.52 m. The pavement of the sanctuary, of reddish *calcestruzzo*, was found at a depth of about 1 m. below the present level of the field. The pavement of the main part of the nave was a few centimetres lower.

The following inscribed fragments, which came to light during the excavations, belong to the church :



5.¹ Plaque of marble with raised edges. In the centre was a Greek cross, also in relief, of which only a part of the lower end is preserved. Height of the fragment, 0.17 m.; length, 0.38 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

At the remaining end of the cross there still exists the letter C. Very probably the letters at the other ends should be completed thus :

[I]

[X]

[C]

C

that is to say, 'Ι(ησοῦ)ς on the vertical arm and Χ(ριστό)ς on the horizontal arm. The inscription on the edges is nothing else than the ritual salutation which the people and, in its stead, the choir addresses in the Greek church to the bishop.

[τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ ἐ]πισκό(που) πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη

“ad multos annos.” This inscription was probably set up to commemorate the solemn entry of a newly consecrated bishop.²

6. Fragment of the cornice of a stelè or small pilaster of bluish white marble, 0.40 m. long. The inscription is on the projecting listel.

¹ I give a consecutive enumeration to all the inscriptions in this article including also these Christian *tituli*.

² I am indebted to His Grace Dionysios, the Cretan bishop of Chersonesos, for much information on the use of this *ἀνευφημία*, which is still used in the Greek church.



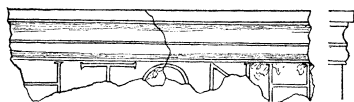
το]ῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου ἐ[πισκόπου τοῦ δεινός

This is probably another salutation like the preceding, at the end of which we must supply *πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη*. *Θεοφιλέστατος* is, as is well known, the title belonging to a bishop in the Greek church.

Both of these fragments are of considerable antiquity, as is shown by the form of the letters, and should, I believe, be placed among the primitive Christian inscriptions of Gortyna. However, considering the limited material on which to base a judgment, I shall not attempt to fix their date exactly.

7. Neither do I wish to decide whether the following fragment of an architrave, broken in two pieces and found in one of the ditches, belongs to the church or is part of an inscription of the Roman period referring to some other building.

The length of both pieces is 1 m.; medium height, 0.30 m. Capital letters of regular form.



. . . ἡτωνῆ

Perhaps Κρ]ἡτῶν etc.

The material employed in the construction of this building is all or nearly all ancient and second-hand. The abundance of large blocks, many of which are inscribed, the architectural pieces employed here and there for various purposes, the fragments of columns and capitals, etc., show that in order to build the church an ancient temple in the neighborhood of this site must have been demolished, or at least that the remains of one already partly ruined were used in the same way as is done by the present inhabitants of Gortyna. The fragments are, however, of such various periods that if, as I believe, they all came from a single temple, the conclusion is obvious that it also must

have undergone restoration before being finally abandoned. For, while some of the inscribed blocks belonged to the archaic period, the following Doric capital (Fig. 3) belongs, as is evident from its form, to a very late period—perhaps to Roman times. To a somewhat late period belong also the fragmentary marble columns found in various parts of the excavation. They were

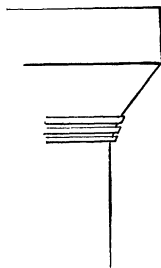


FIGURE 3.—LATE 'DORIC CAPITAL FROM GORTYNA.

employed not only to divide the naves and decorate the interior of the church, but also as simple constructive material. The foundations of the apse are formed almost entirely of columns or fragments of columns laid lengthwise in the manner shown by the accompanying sketch (Fig. 4).

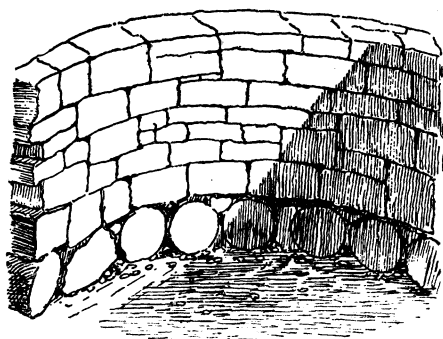


FIGURE 4.—APSE WALL OF CHURCH AT GORTYNA.

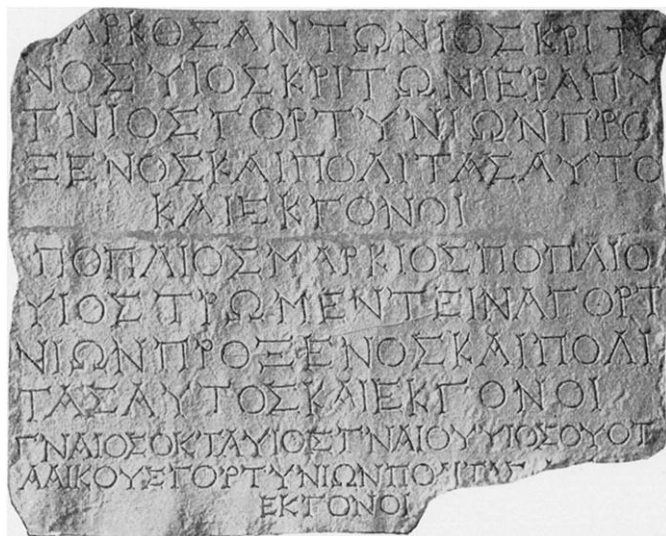
The large marble block under the sill of the main entrance, at the point where the pavement of the nave begins, is a piece of architrave reversed, the modellings of which show that it may have belonged to the same period as the columns.

But it is the inscribed blocks found in considerable numbers which render this ancient material of especial importance for us and represent the main result of the excavation. The texts which they contain date from the archaic period down to Roman times, and among them are several inscriptions of the first importance.

I publish them all here in facsimile, beginning with the latest and ending with the archaic inscriptions, in order to place the latter in juxtaposition with the texts of the same period discovered during the work undertaken by the Syllogos near the Lethaeus, of which I shall treat in the third part of this article.

The Roman period is represented entirely by ἀναγραφαί of *proxenoi* and persons who received the gift of citizenship, all of them, if I am not mistaken, earlier than the imperial period, as may be inferred from the spelling of the names Λεύκιος, Πόπλιος, Κόϊντος, Γαούσιος, and from the selection of the names themselves taken as a whole.

8.¹ Large wall-slab of limestone, 0.74 m. high, 0.85 m. long, 0.27 m. thick. The letters are 0.05–0.04 m. high and are smaller in the last three lines.

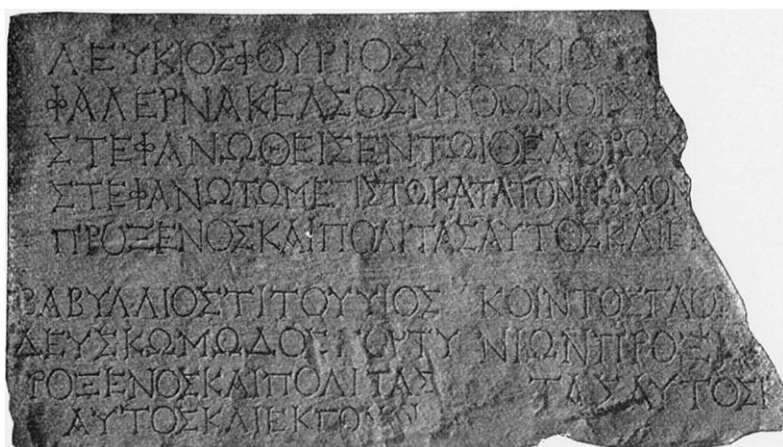


¹Here, too, the enumeration commenced at the beginning of this article continues without break.

- Μ]άρκος Ἀντώνιος Κρίτω-
 νος υἱὸς Κρίτων Ἱεραπύ-
 τσιος Γορτυνίων πρό-
 ξενος καὶ πολίτας αὐτὸ[ς
 5 καὶ ἔκγονοι.
 Πόπλιος Μάρκιος Ποπλί[ο]
 υἱὸς Τρωμεντεῖνα Γορτ[υ-
 νίων πρόξενος καὶ πολί-
 τας αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.
 10 Γναῖος Ὀκταῖος Γναῖον υἱὸς Οὐοτ.
 (Δ)αῖκουσ Γορτυνίων πολίτ[ας αὐτὸς καὶ
 ἔκγονοι.

Ll. 10, 11. The word ΑΑΙΚΟΥΕ gives no meaning; hence we must admit in this line an error of the stone-cutter and seek to correct it. I owe to my colleague at the University of Rome, Professor de Ruggiero, the conjectural restoration *Δαῖκουσ*. This is a Greek cognomen written with the Latin termination (*Laicus*). The cognomen is found also in a Roman funerary inscription (*C. I. L. IX, 2151; D. M. S. M. Petronio Laico, etc.*), and the position it occupies after the Voturian tribe, according to custom, confirms this supposition.

9. Large wall-slab of limestone broken on the right, 0.485 m. high, 0.82 m. long, 0.20 m. thick. The letters are by two or three different hands, and in the first inscription they still preserve abundant traces of rubrication. The following are the heights of the letters: upper inscription, 0.035–0.04 m.; lower inscription (left), 0.03–0.035 m.; lower inscription (right), 0.03–0.038 m.



Λεύκιος Φούριος Λευκίου | υἱὸς
 Φαλέρνα Κέλσος Μύθων ὀρχη|στῆς
 στεφανωθείς ἐν τῷ θεάθρῳ(ι) χ[ρυσῶι
 στεφάνῳ(ι) τῶ(ι) μεγίστῳ(ι), κατὰ τὸν νόμον, | Γορτυνίων
 5 πρόξενος καὶ πολίτας αὐτὸς καὶ ἔ|κγονοι.

Τίτος(?) Βαβύλλιος Τίτου υἱὸς
 . . . δεὺς κωμω(ι)δὸς, Γορτυ-
 νίων π|ρόξενος καὶ πολίτας
 αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.

Κόϊντος Γαού|ιος Γορτυ-
 νίων πρόξεν[ος καὶ πολί-
 τας αὐτὸς κ|αὶ ἔκγονοι.

L. 3. *θεάθρῳ(ι) (sic)*. This is the first epigraphical mention of the theatre of Gortyna.

L. 4. The words *τῶ(ι) μεγίστῳ(ι) κατὰ τὸν νόμον* are written on an erased line.

The two lower inscriptions are fragmentary. The missing parts of that on the left were on a wall-slab which must, in the primitive construction, have been next to it on that side.

In the name ΓΑΟΥ[ιος] of the right-hand inscription we see the trace of a stone-cutter's error which was corrected in time. He had first written ΓΑΥ|ος.

10. Slab of the same stone, 0.28 m. high, 0.88 m. long. The letters are 0.03–0.035 m. high in the left-hand inscription, 0.025–0.03 m. high in the right-hand inscription.



. . . . Στεφάνου
Γορτυνίων] πρόξενος
αὐτὸς καὶ γε]νος.

Μάρκος Οὐψτᾶνος Ἀκκέπ-
πτος Γορτυνίων πολίτας αὐ-
τὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.

I am unable to supply the name which ends in ΟΙΝ or ΟΙΝ in the first line of the left-hand inscription. Noteworthy, in the second inscription, is the writing of the Latin name *Acceptus* with two ρ's ΑΚΚΕΠΠΤΟΣ. Perhaps this is due to an oversight of the stone-cutter, owing to the word being divided at the end of the line. Vipstanus, Οὐψτᾶνος, is a well-known Roman name.

11. Inscription cut on the projecting portion, or *parastás*, of the same block on which is sculptured the decree or law No. 22, under which number its measurements are given. The letters are 0.027–0.034 m. high; those on the last line being the smallest.



Γάιος Καισώνιος
Φιλάργυρος Μοσ-
χολόγος Γορτυνί-
ων πρόξενος καὶ [πο-
ῶ λίτας αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.

Z[a]ύλο[ς] Εὐ[ρ]υμη[δ] . . .

The Roman names and surnames which recur together with the Greek cognomen, in designating the greater part of the *pro-xenoi* recorded in all these blocks, might suggest that these were Greeks belonging to the class of the *liberti*. Still, and this is also the opinion of Professor de Ruggiero, we must regard these in general as Greeks who first had personal Roman citizenship and afterwards, according to custom, assumed the *gentilitium* of the Roman magistrate or citizen who had been the means of obtaining for them the *civitas* and in whose tribe they were inscribed. This seems the more probable, because up to the present at least no cities outside of Italy are known to have been inscribed in the Falernian or Voturian tribes.

12. Inscription carved on the *parastás* of a block on which is the right-hand half of the archaic inscription No. 23, where its measurements are given. Letters 0.025–0.03 m. high.



Γ]ο[ρτυ]νίων [πρό-
 ξηνος καὶ πολίτα[ς
 αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.
 Μ]άλευρος Ἐνφράσ-
 5 τω Γάξιος Γορτυνί-
 ων πρόξηνος καὶ πο-
 λίτας αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.

The few remaining traces of the first letter on line 4 may belong to Π or Μ: [Π]άλευρος or [Μ]άλευρος. I prefer to read

[M]άλευρος by analogy with the word μάλευρον = ἄλευρον in Photius' *Lexicon*, s. v. The name is, so far as I know, new. The name Ὑνφραστος (not Εὔφραστος) is also wanting in Pape and in more recent epigraphical indexes. Πρόξηνος is the regular Cretan form corresponding to πρόξεινος for πρόξενος.

13. A fragment of ordinary limestone. Height, 0.335 m., width, 0.19 m., thickness, 0.21 m. Letters, 0.032–0.035 m. in height, with large apices.



· · · · ·
 · · · · Γορτ]υνίω[ν πρόξενος αὐ-
 τὸς καὶ ἔκγο]νοι.
 · · · · ιος Ὑερος Γ[ορτυνίων
 πρόξεν]ος καὶ πολ[ίτας
 αὐτὸς κ]αὶ ἔκγον[οι].

14. Another fragment, like the above. Height, 0.35 m., width, 0.28 m. Original size of the block, 0.56 m. An opisthograph. Surface *a*. Letters, 0.035–0.04 m., with large apices.



· · · ενης · · · · ·
 · · · ιερας σ · · · · ·
 Γο]ρτυν[ίων πρόξενος
 καὶ πολ]εῖτ[ας αὐτὸς
 καὶ ἔκγο]νο

Surface *b*. Width of preserved surface, 0.15 m. Letters, 0.022–0.025 m. in the first lines; 0.025–0.03 m. in the last three; without apices.



.
 α]ρ[μ
 τας Γ[ορτυνίων
 πρόξ]ενος [καὶ πολί-
 τας α]ὐτὸς [καὶ
 γέ]νος.

Another inscription :

. δολ
 ατα
 ατο

15. A large wall-block, broken below and on the left side, found near the *iconostasis*. It was originally covered with an archaic inscription divided into columns. This was hammered and erased at a later date to make room for the other inscriptions here published, but the fragmentary ends of certain lines on both columns in archaic script have remained and are still legible. The transcription of them is given under No. 25. The dimensions of the block are: 0.65 m. high; 0.73 m. wide; and 0.27 m. thick. The letters of the non-archaic inscription are 0.02–0.03 m. high; slightly marked with small apices.



Inscription on the left:

Δισὸς Λυδά[μιο]ς
 Διομήδης Ε[ὐαί?]νω.
 Ἄλικαρνασσεές,
 Γορτυνίων πρόξε-
 5 νοι αὐτοὶ καὶ γένος.

Ζ[ώπυρον] Ἄρχωνος
 Κι[μώλιον] πρόξενον
 ἡμε]ν Γορτυνίων αὐ-
 τὸν κ]αὶ γένος.

L. 1. I believe that the name Δισὸς (= Δισσός) is new; that which follows can be completed as Λυδά[μιο]ς = Λυγδάμιος, a name that is often found in Halicarnassus.

Inscription on the right:

Σάτυρος

Τιμοκρά[της

Θεόδωρ[ος

Ίκέσιος

Σίμος Σ

Χ[ῖοι ?

Γορτυ[νίων πρόξενοι

[αὐτοὶ καὶ γένος.]

These inscriptions, especially that on the right and the fragment No. 14 *b*, are, as can be seen from the form of the letters, somewhat earlier than the preceding, and belong to Hellenistic times. The *tituli* on the following slab belong to the same period.

16. A large wall-slab of the usual limestone, 0.79 m. high, 1.20 m. long, 0.31 m. thick. The letters are of various dimensions, 0.01–0.02–0.025 m., and by various hands, but are, in all cases, of elegant form. In the first upper lines they are cut very lightly and in part by dots rather than by channels.



A.

. Δα]μ[α]σικρ[ά]της [Τε]λέσωνος, Ἀγέμ[α]-
 χος Γορτυνίων πρόξεν]οι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔ[γγ]ονοι.

B.

Ζώ]πυρος Θρασυμήδου,
 Ἐφέσιος, Γορτυνίων πρό-
 ξενος αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.

D.

Εὐφραιος Εὐφρα[ίου],
 Καλλίας Φαιδί[μου],
 Ἀθηναῖοι, Γορτυ[νίων]
 πρόξενοι αὐτοὶ κα[ὶ] γένος.

C.

Δαμόχαρις Φαλακρία,
 Λύττιος, Γορτυνίων
 πρόξενος αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.

E.

Ἀγέπολις Καλλίππου,
 Μεγαλοπολίτας, Γορτυνίων
 πρόξενος αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.

F.

Κυρτόσανδρος Κύλω,
 Ἐλευθευναῖος, πρόξενος
 Γορτυνίων καὶ εὐφεργέτας
 αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.

H.

Διόδωρος Θεοκρίτου,
 Κείος, Γορτυνίων πρόξενος
 αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.

G.

Πόλλος Φαιστιόονα
 Ἐλτυνιεύς, Γορτυνίων
 πρόξενος αὐτὸς
 καὶ γένος.

I.

Τιμαγόρας καὶ Πρόκλος οἱ Ἀλέξανδρος,
 Ἀπελλωνιάται, Γορτυνίων πρόξενοι
 αὐτοὶ καὶ γένος.

J.

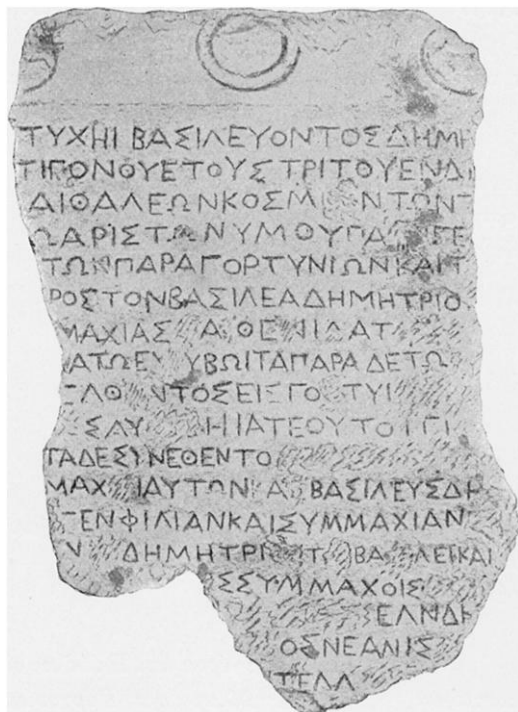
Βωλαγόρας Νεοκούδιος,
 Κεραῖτας, Γορτυνίων πρόξενος
 αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.

K.

Λύγδαμις Μιττυρίωνος,
 Ῥαύκιος, Γορτυνίων πρόξενος
 αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.

Note the assimilation of ρν in Ἐλευθευναῖος (F, 2), as in the archaic forms ἀννίλοιτο, ὄνν[ι]θα, of the Gortynian laws.

17. A fragmentary stelè of limestone, decorated on its upper edge with three shields in relief, and badly damaged on its inscribed surface. Height 0.45 m., width 0.32 m., thickness 0.23 m. The letters are 0.012–0.015 m. high.



The fragment is badly mutilated, but, apart from some proper names, may be supplemented with perfect certainty. It contains the title of a treaty of alliance, concluded between the Gortynians and their Cretan confederates, on one side, and King Demetrius, son of Antigonos, on the other. The conditions and articles of the treaty are completely lost; they began at the very point where the stone is broken. But, from a comparison with the other treaties between Gortynian cities and foreign states which we possess, it may be concluded that the object of this treaty must also have been the levying of mercenary troops in the island on the part of the non-Cretans, and

on the part of the Cretans to receive assistance in the internal wars which, especially during the Macedonian period, were the bane of the country. The following is my reading of the inscription:

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Βασιλεύοντος Δημ[ητρίου]
 τοῦ Ἀν[τιγόνου] ἔτους τρίτου, ἐν δ[ὲ] Γόρτυνι
 ἐπὶ τῶν] Αἰθαλέων κοσμ[ιό]ντων [τῶν σὺν . . .
 . . . τῶ] Ἀριστωνύμου. Πα[ρα]γε[νομένων]
 5 πρεσβευ[τῶν] παρὰ Γορτυνίων καὶ τ[ῶν] συμ-
 μάχων π[ρὸς] τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον τοῦ Ἀντιγό-
 νου περὶ συμμαχίας, [Π]α[ρ]θε[ν]ί[δ]α τ[ῶ]
 καὶ . . .] α τῶ Ε[ὐ]ρυβώϊτα, παρὰ δὲ τῶ [Βασιλέως
 Δημητρίου ἐ]λθ[όν]τος εἰς Γό[ρ]τυ[να] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλ-
 10 οὺς συμμαχου]ς Αὐ . . . ιατέον το[ῦ] Πρ
 τάδε συνέθεντο [Γορτύνιοι
 καὶ οἱ σύμ]μαχο]ι αὐτῶν [κ]α[ὶ] βασιλεὺς Δη[μήτριος]
 Ἀντιγόνου· ἦ(μ)εν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν [εἰς τὸν ἄ-
 παντα χρό]ν[ον] Δημητρί[ωι] τ[ῶι]. βα[σι]λεὺς καὶ [Γορτυ-
 15 νίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοι]ς συμμαχοῖς
 ἐ[ὰ]ν δ[ὲ]
 ος νεαν ισ
 ἀποσ]τελλ

Under No. 67 of the first article in this series I published what is left of a similar treaty concluded by the city of Eleutherna with King Antigonos; another treaty of Antigonos with the city of Hierapytna is to be found in the *Museo Italiano*, III, pp. 603–604, Nos. 34–35^a. Both of these fragments have been published also in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, XIII, pp. 47–54, by M. Doublet, who, in both cases, is disposed, as I am also, to identify the king of this name with Antigonos Gonatas. It appears to me more than probable that the King Demetrius, whose name occurs in the present text, is Demetrius the Aetolian, son and successor of Antigonos Gonatas, who reigned from 239–229 B. C. The writing is much less well suited to the period of Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonos Monophthalmus.

Ll. 5, 6 and 9, 10. The supplements τ[ὼν συμμάχων . . .] and [καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχου]s are rendered certain by the remains legible on lines 12 and 15. No conjecture is possible as to the Cretan cities which, at that time, were allied to Gortyna.

The Gortynians sent two ambassadors to the court of the king for the purpose of establishing this alliance: Parthenidas, son of ——— (l. 7) and another, whose name is lost, who was son of Eurybotas. On the other hand, a single ambassador came to Gortyna and to its allied cities as the representative of King Demetrius; his name (l. 10), however, I am not able to restore. Of his patronymic, which must certainly have fitted entirely in the end of the same line, there remain only the letters Πρ At the beginning of line 11 must have stood his *ethnicon*.

The remnants τελλ in the last line of the fragment belong very probably to some form of the word ἀποστέλλειν, and refer to expeditions of mercenary soldiers, as in the two treaties of Eleutherna and of Hierapytna mentioned above and in that of Hierapytna and Rhodes (Cauer¹, No. 44).

18. Small fragment of the usual limestone, 0.16 m. high, 0.27 m. long. It is divided into two planes, that on the right having the greater projection. On the complete wall-slab this projecting surface must have represented a slight *parastás*, as is the case with other blocks of the series. The letters are 0.015–0.017 m. high.



On the left-hand side or page of the stone are the remains of

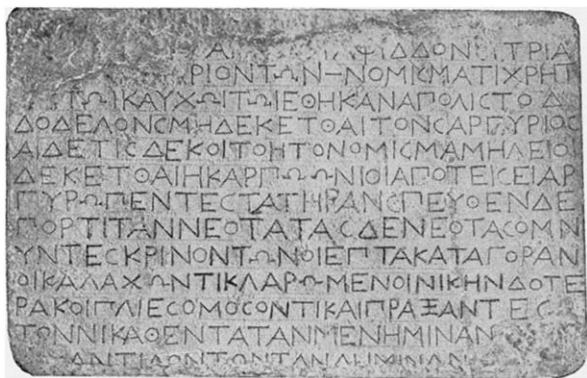
a treaty with the city of Oaxos or Axos, as is shown by line 4 where we read . . . ὁ] δὲ Φάξιος or τὸς] δὲ Φάξιος.

It is impossible to decide whether the remaining letters on the right-hand side are the continuation of this text or belong to another document. On line 3 is the name of the city of Gortyna or of the Gortynians.

In the elision [τριάκ]οντ' ἀμέραι (or some other number ending in κοντα) no account is taken of the rough breathing. This phenomenon is now illustrated by a large number of examples in the Cretan dialect.

19. Large wall-block, 0.364 m. high; 1.07 m. long; 0.585 m. wide, with a slight *parastás* at the right end of one of its faces. It is inscribed with three texts: one is archaic, which will be given under No. 23; one, on the *parastás*, belongs to the Hellenistic or Roman period and has been given on a previous page under No. 12; the third, here published, is on the side next to it. The block was, therefore, one of the corner blocks of the archaic building whence comes all this inscribed material.

The letters of this text are of elegant form, with their ends enlarged or with slight apices. Their height is 0.015–0.02 m., and they bear traces of rubrication. The letters O, Θ, Ω, C, and here and there the Δ also, are smaller. The traces of the very delicate lines which the ancient stone-cutter made on the stone, in order to mark the spaces for the inscribed lines before cutting the letters, are still visible.



The inscription is entire. The free space above the first line, at least on the right side where the stone is hardly, if at all, corroded, bears no traces of lettering. The only thing which I believe to have been there, because it is usually not wanting in these earliest decrees of Gortyna, is the invocation *Θιοί*. It also happens that in the Great Inscription, and in the fragment relating to the sacrifices which I publish under No. 1 above, this invocation is disconnected from the text and placed above the beginning of the first line.

The text reads thus:

[*Θιοί*]

Τὰδ' ἔφαδε τ]αί [πόλι ψα]φίδδονσι τρια-
κατίων πα]ριόντων.—νομίσματι χρῆτ-
θα]ι τῷ καυχῶι, τῷ ἔθηκαν ἅ πόλις, τὸδ

5 δ' ὁδελὸς μὴ δέκεσθαι τὸν ἀργυρίος·
αἱ δέ τις δέκοιτο ἢ τὸ νόμισμα μὴ λείοι
δέκεσθαι ἢ καρπῷ ὠνίοι, ἀποτεισεῖ ἀρ-
γύρω πέντε στατήραν. Πεύθεν δὲ
πορτὶ τὰν νεότα, τᾶς δὲ νεότας ὁμν-

10 ὕντες, κρινόντων οἱ ἑπτὰ κατ' ἀγορὰν,
οἳ κα λάρχωντι κλαρωμενοὶ· νικῆν δ' ὅτε-
ρά κ' οἱ πλῆεις ὁμόσονται, καὶ πράξαντες
τὸν νικαθέντα, τὰν μὲν ἡμίαν [τῷ νι-
κάσ]αντι [δό]ντ[ω]ν, τ[ἀ]ν [δ' ἡμίν[α]ν [τᾶι πόλι.

We have here a decree which orders: 'Make use of the bronze money, which the city has put in circulation, and do not accept silver obols. If anyone accepts in payment silver obols, or refuses to accept bronze money, or sells anything in exchange for grain (that is to say, receiving or requiring grain in payment), he shall pay a fine of five silver staters. Disputes in these cases shall be referred to the *neotas*, and of the *neotas* the seven who are elected as *agoranomoi* shall give judgment under oath. And judgment shall be rendered in favor of the party for which the majority shall have taken oath (that is to say, the judgment shall be given by the majority of votes), and this college of seven, having

exacted the fine of the party which has lost the suit, shall give half to the party which has won the suit and half to the city.'

This inscription is extremely important from many points of view, especially for the history of coinage in Crete. It is an enactment which must have been issued immediately after the creation of bronze coinage. That the law which established this innovation was a recent one, may be seen clearly from the entire context of the decree. This money has not yet secured the confidence of the market; the people is not getting accustomed to it and accepts it in payment with difficulty. On the other hand it is possible that financial conditions induce the city to withdraw from circulation in mass the silver pieces below the drachma, that is to say the obols. This makes it necessary that what would now be called a forced circulation should be given to the small bronze coinage. For this purpose the Gortynians issue the present decree which imposes a fine on whoever refuses the new money, receives or demands the former silver money, and which also forbids—of course temporarily—even petty trading by payments in kind (*καρπός*), which must have been the most ordinary form.

In Athens the creation of bronze coinage took place, as we learn from a scholium on Aristophanes' *Frogs*,¹ under the archonship of Callias in 406 B. C. At the same time, or a year or two later, we find bronze coinage also at Aegina.² To what time the earliest bronze coins found in Cretan soil belong we cannot judge with precision, but there is nothing that should lead us to suppose that the coining of bronze in the island began at a period very different from that of the first issue of bronze at Athens and Aegina. The highest authority in the field of Cretan numismatics, Mr. Svoronos, informs me in a letter that after 350 B. C., the use of bronze coin became general throughout the island, but that some of the known coins date back to the very beginning of the fourth century, and that, in his judgment, a coin of Axos, published by him in pl. ii, 36 of the *Numismatique Crétoise*, probably belongs to the close of the

¹ *Schol. Arist. Ran.* 725.

² Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 333.

fifth century. In view of these observations and of this opinion, I believe that the present inscription should be attributed to the first quarter of the fourth century, or at the latest to the following decade. The lunar *sigma* C, which is used in it, is found also in inscription No. 21, which is earlier; and we also meet with it in the treaty between Axos and Tylissos published under No. 60 *b* of the "Inscriptions of Various Cretan Cities." It is in Crete also a very sporadic but ancient phenomenon. It is important that we find evidence at Gortyna, during the first decades of the fourth century, of a stage of writing so far advanced in calligraphy and in elegance, I am tempted to say in refinement, with letters whose ends are already decorated with slight swellings and apices. The pretended conservatism of these islanders in their script is a theory that finds no confirmation whatever in this fact; and I do not see how the opinion of those scholars is henceforth tenable who, exaggerating the conclusions of Kirchhoff, in themselves hazardous, have attributed the Great Archaic Inscription of the Lethaeus to the close of the fifth century and have been even ready to urge that it might date as late as 400 B. C.

In respect to dialect, the only new phenomenon in this document is that of the middle infinitive in $-\thetaαι$: $\chi\rho\eta\thetaαι$, $\deltaέκε\thetaαι$ in place of $\chi\rho\eta\theta\thetaαι$, $\deltaέκε\theta\thetaαι$ or $\chi\rho\eta\thetaαι$, $\deltaεκέ\thetaαι$. This is a fact to be added to those already noted on the treatment of the common $\sigma\theta$ in Cretan.

There can be no doubt about the restoration of the first line. After the feminine article $[\tau]\alphaί$ the word to be supplied can only be $\piόλι$, which fits exactly into the lacuna, and before it there is room only for the formula which I have supplied and which was to be expected. The plural $\psiαφίδδουσι$ and the masculine form of this participle are perfectly natural in connection with this collective noun. The verb in the plural form is met with also in $\epsilon\thetaηκαν \acute{\alpha} πόλις$ in the third line, and in $\acute{\alpha}πελάγασαν \acute{\alpha} πόλις οί Γορτύνιοι$ in the act of manumission published in No. 3. But as regards syntax, the formula is better expressed in the decree of the Pythion on the *apeleutheroi*, where we read: $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta'$

ἔφαδε τοῖς Γορτυνίοις ψαπίδδονσι.¹ The tenor of these headings or *praescripta* in the earliest decrees of Gortyna² is very remarkable, because it appears, as has already been noted from a study of a smaller number of examples by Swoboda,³ not to support the assertion of Aristotle on the power of the Cretan ἐκκλησία, which according to his words κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἡ συνεψηφίσθαι τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέροισι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις.⁴

Ll. 1, 2. Here is noted, as in a treaty of Gortyna which I discovered in the Pythion,⁵ the number of persons who took part in the assembly. In both inscriptions we find exactly the same number noted—300: τριακατίων παριόντων. I have already said, in commenting on that inscription, that such a number seemed to be small for so large a city as Gortyna, knowing as we do from Aristotle⁶ that ἐκκλησίας . . . μετέχουσιν πάντες. Are we to believe that this number was the minimum required for a legal quorum?

L. 3. In καυχῶι for χαλκῶι we have a new instance of the vocalization of the λ in Cretan to be added to those which we have received from Hesychius and from inscriptions. Compare the Priansos inscription No. 51, published in this JOURNAL, *First Series*, XI, p. 568, and the examples given in Baunack, *Inscr. v. Gortyn*, p. 42. The reciprocal transposition of the rough and smooth mutes in the first and second syllables may be compared with the form θύκα for τύχα of an archaic inscription of Gortyna,⁷ provided the word should be so transcribed and should not be read θύχα, a form which is also known at Gortyna.⁸ Similar dislocations of the aspirates are found in other dialects: see Kühner-Blass, *Ausführl. Gramm. der Gr. Spr.* I, p. 278, note 8.

¹ *Mon. Ant.* III, p. 73, No. 148.

² See also the following number and compare Γόρτυνις ἐπίπανσα in the decree No. 149 of the *Mon. Ant.* III, p. 81.

³ *Die Griechischen Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 162.

⁴ *Polit.* II, 7, 4, p. 1272 a.

⁵ *Mon. Ant.* I, pp. 47-48; cf. also p. 51. *Aristot. ibidem.*

⁶ *Aristot. ibidem.*

⁷ *Mon. Ant.* III, p. 81, No. 149.

⁸ *Mon. Ant.* I, pp. 47-48.

Ll. 3-7. There is here considerable oscillation in the forms of the accusative plural with and without the ν : $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\nu\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{o}\nu\varsigma$, $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho\alpha\nu\varsigma$ on the one hand; $\tau\acute{o}\delta\delta$ δ' ($\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ δ') and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ on the other. The active form of the verb $\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\alpha\iota$, with the meaning of 'sell, putting on sale,' has already occurred in the Great Inscription, Col. V, line 47.

L. 7. $\pi\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$. This verb, which I have read with some uncertainty in my last revision of the Great Inscription (Col. VIII, line 55), here appears most clearly; we shall also find it in fragment No. 20. This removes another doubt from the reading of that passage in the Great Inscription, where it will be also preferable to supply $\pi\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\iota}$ in place of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$ for the preposition which is not clearly visible on the stone. The meaning of this verb is clearly that of the French expression *porter plainte*. It means that the complaints in these cases should be referred to the *neotas*, or simply that the parties should present themselves before the *neotas* before whom the *quaestio* should take place. This last idea, for a moment, suggested to me to read $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and to explain $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu = \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ('to appear') with an aphaeresis, certainly strange, but not unattested in modern Greek dialects ($\pi\epsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}$, $\pi\epsilon\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, etc.), and which in ancient Cretan epigraphic records has an analogy in the form $\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\tau\iota$ of the inscription of Rhea which I copied at Phaestos.¹ As for the verb $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ with the vocalized λ , I had already noted it in the inscription from Priansos published above under No. 51 ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ l. 5). I cannot, however, find in Greek writers any example of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ construed with $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ($\pi\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\iota}$), and in the numerous Cretan decrees of Teos, where the participle $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ is used of the ambassadors who present themselves to the assembly, it is constantly construed with $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$. Besides, $\pi\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$, explained by Comparetti in the Great Inscription as an active form of the well-known $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ or $\pi\upsilon\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, specifies very much more closely the action which the decree here wishes to enforce, and I believe that I must accept it.

¹ *Mus. It.* III, pp. 735-736. The imperative $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau\omega$ of the inscription of Cnossos, *Mus. It.* II, pp. 677-678, cannot be regarded as such a form, but as a crasis with the vowel of $\mu\acute{\eta}$, $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau\omega$.

Ll. 8–10. A new political body, which up to the present has not been mentioned either at Gortyna or in any other Cretan city, is this *neotas*, from the membership of which are taken these *ἐπτά κατ' ἀγοράν* who are to act as judges in the cases here contemplated. The name is here found first in the accusative, then in the genitive. In the fragment which I shall publish under the following number, it is found in the nominative. From these three occurrences it is seen to have a very anomalous declension: nom. *ἡ νεότας*, gen. *τῆς νεότας*, accus. *τὴν νεότα*. This new substantive with collective meaning should be compared with *νεότης*, which can designate, as has been also suggested to me by Professor Comparetti, only a body constituted by *νέοι* in contradistinction to the *γερονσία* or *βωλά*, a legislative and political body constituted by the *πρεσβύτεροι* or *πρεῖγιστοι*. The *ἐπτά κατ' ἀγοράν*, who are selected by lot from among them, correspond evidently to the *ἀγορανόμοι* of Athens and other Greek cities.

Ll. 10–13. The pronoun *ὅτερος* is already known from the Great Inscription and from other Cretan fragments of Gortyna and Lyttos. The short enclitic vowel of the subjunctive aorist *ὀμόσονται* is regular in this dialect; consult the examples collected by Skias, *Περὶ τῆς Κρητικῆς Διαλ.*, p. 137. The addition of *ταὶ πόλι* at the close appears to me certain, not only because the space will allow of no other, but also on account of the analogy of similar cases in other decrees. Compare the often-cited decree on the *apeleutheroi*, last line, and that which follows under No. 21, the last line but one.

20 and 21. Another corner block with the *parastás*, like the preceding, inscribed on one face and on the *parastás* of the other face. It is fragmentary on all sides. The greatest height 0.37 m.; length of the *parastás*, 0.38 m.; width of the fragment of the other face, 0.295 m. In order to give a front view of both inscribed faces on the same plate, I place them side by side on the same plane.



20. The right-hand section is inscribed with letters that are the same, or almost the same, in form and dimension as those of the decree on bronze coinage (No. 19); and we may infer from some words met with here and there (*ἀλλάδδεν* = *ἀλλάσσειν*, l. 4; *νεότας*, l. 6) that it belongs to a text relating to the same subject. It is, however, impossible to get any meaning from it. In line 5 appears the verb *πεῦθεν* already mentioned; in line 8 there appears to be an allusion to a date, *Διοπέϊος δὲ κόρ- [μω]* or *κορ[μίουτος]*. It is useless to dwell upon the rest of the text.

21. The inscription on the left is complete. Above it is the end of one of the usual lists of *proxenoi*.

.
[. πρ-]
ὄξενος
αὐτὸς κῆκγονα.

At the bottom of the stone, where the breakage begins, there are traces of very badly cut letters which must belong to another inscription, the rest of which followed on another block.

The letters of this text have a very early form and *ductus*. This is, I believe, the earliest among the non-archaic inscrip-

tions brought to light by the excavation. In the second line we still have the spiral β , a fact which, however it may be explained, shows that the period of archaic writing is not far off. The *sigma* has here also the lunar form (which once more proves the great antiquity of this sign at Gortyna).

Ἐπὶ τῶν Δυμάνων κορμιόντων (τῶν)
 σὺν Εὐρυβώϊται τῷ Δαμασίλα<σ>
 τάδ' ἔαδε ταῖς πόλιθι ἀνφοτέραι-
 ς, τ(ᾱ)ι τ' ἄνω καὶ τᾷ κάτω· Κρ[αν-
 5 σοπ[ε]ῖοι ὅκα δίκαια μὴ συνθίων-
 τ]αι ἀποτεισίοντ' <αρ> ἀργύρω ××
 στατέρων παρ τὸν τίταν.
 Μ]ολέν δὲ τὸν βωλόμενο[ν,
 τ]ὸν μὲν Γορτύνιον Γυρτύον[ι,
 10 τὸν δ]ὲ Φαίστιον Φαι(σ)τοῖ, καὶ ἕχε[ν
 τὰν π]όλιν τὰ(ν) ἡμίναν, τὰν
 δὲ ἡ]μίναν τὸ(μ) μωλίο<ι>ντα.

The inscription is not without obscurities. It contains a decree passed in common by the two cities of Gortyna and Phaestus which are distinguished from the others by the simple indication of ἄνω πόλις and κάτω πόλις.¹ This circumstance, and the further fact that the document is dated by a single college of *cosmoi*, shows that the two cities, whose fierce rivalry during other periods is well known, were at this time joined together under a single administration. The meaning of the decree appears to me to be the following: The Cransopeans when they violate the compact shall pay 2000 staters of silver and deposit them with the *τίτας*. The suit (for breaking the compact) may be brought by whoever wills, by the Gortynian at Gortyna, by the Phaestian at Phaestus; and half of the fine shall go to the city and half to the mover of the suit.

Who are these Cransopeans? The reading of all the letters, except the fourth one, seems to me certain; and the fourth letter has every appearance of being μ or ν . However the word

¹ Compare in the inscription of Malla, *Mus. It.* III, p. 632, the city of Lyttos and its port (Chersonesos?) which are similarly termed *Ἀντιώ[ν] τῶν τε τὰν ἄνω πόλιν οἰκ[ι]όντων καὶ τῶν τὰν ἐπὶ [θ]αλάσσαι* (lines 8-10).

should be read—and it¹ may have been mistakenly transformed by the stone-cutter who has filled this whole text with errors—it seems to me certain that it must denote the inhabitants of a locality called *Κρανσόπη*, perhaps a village of *perioikoi* in the country, or those of a quarter of the city of Phaestus which may have been called by this name. In both cases they are people who have not the same rights as citizens, because they have a *τίτας* who represents them, like the *ἀπελεύθεροι* who dwell at Gortyna in the quarter called *Latosion*, and it is into the hands of this *τίτας* that they must pay the fines when they have been adjudged guilty. He is the intermediary between them and the state. That they form a body having a certain independence, however limited, results from the fact that they have, if I understand the passage, the right to form treaties or compacts with the state, even though they be of great moment. This is proved by *ὅκα δίκαια μὴ συνθίωται* ‘when the compact which they make is not just,’ which is the very sentence giving the motive for the decree. This expression is not very clear, but I believe that, in view of the evident awkwardness of style, which appears in the greater part of these archaic and non-archaic texts, the writer wished to express ‘when they commit an injustice against compacts in force’ or ‘when they do anything contrary to treaty.’ This would be precisely the idea expressed in Cretan treaties of a later date by the words *εἰ δέ τις ἀδικοίη τὰ συγκείμενα*.² It is probable that at the time when Gortyna and Phaestus were joined into a single state, special compacts were concluded between these Cransopeans, who found themselves in certain peculiar conditions, and the new government. The decree provides for the maintenance of the compacts on penalty of a heavy fine, half of which, in order to increase the probability of denunciation, is given, as is in the case of the *φάσις* at Athens, to the person making the complaint.

¹ Names of Cretan localities of strange form and obscure meaning are numerous and should be attributed in great part to the language of the pre-Hellenic population of the island. I see no way of finding a connection between this name and that of the Molossian city of Cassope which resembles it in form.

² Compare the treaty between Priansos and Hierapytna in Cauer², 119, l. 46.

L. 1. After *κορμιόντων* we expect the article *τῶν*, which, on account of the ΤΩΝ that precedes, was evidently overlooked by the stone-cutter in transcribing the original on the stone.

L. 2. The final *sigma* in *Δαμασίλας* should be eliminated. Here, also, the bungling stone-cutter has fallen into error by repeating the syllable AC in the middle of the word.

L. 3. Πόλιθι for πόλισι, πόλισσι (cf. πολίεσσι) is a new instance of a phenomenon now known to be common in this dialect.

L. 4. ΤΙΑ is an error for ΤΑΙ=τᾱ.

L. 6. ΑΡΑΡΓΥΡΩ, another error of the stone-cutter who has repeated the same syllable.

L. 8. μωλέν. This reading confirms, in opposition to Bücheler,¹ the spelling *μω* (and not *μο*) proposed by Comparetti and by the majority of critics in the transcription of this verb in the Great Inscription.

L. 9. Γορτύνοι. I am not sure whether this should be regarded as another error of the stone-cutter (for Γόρτυνι), or as a reminiscence of an earlier name of the city of Gortyna which would recall that of the city of Γυρτών in Pelasgiotis. But from the fact that the *ethnicon* in the preceding word is given with the form Γορτύνιος, and not Γυρτώνιος or Γυρτυόνιος, I prefer to believe that it is one of the usual blunders.

Ll. 10–12. We have three more errors of the stone-cutter in the words ΦΑΙΤΟΙ, ΤΑΗΜΙΝΑΝ and ΜΩΛΙΟΙΝΤΑ. The last of these, considered together with the ΤΙΑ for ΤΑΙ of line 4 and with the ancient appearance of the writing, makes me suspect that this inscription is nothing else than a copy of a *boustrophedon* text executed by an unskilful stone-cutter not yet accustomed to the new system of left to right writing. It is perhaps the transcription, on the walls of a temple of Gortyna, of a text cut a short time before, but still in the archaic manner, either at Gortyna itself or on some wall at Phaestos. The spiral β on line 2 can also be better explained by this hypothesis.

¹ Bücheler and Zittelmann, *Das Recht von Gortyn*, pp. 14, 15.

22. (PLATE IX.) Another large corner block with a *parastás*. On the *parastás* is registered the proxeny of Gaius Caesonius Philargyrus, which we have already given under No. 11. On the injured face are two fragmentary names:

Δαμοφάμ[ης
Φαάντ[ω?



The principal text is on the same side as the *parastás*. The letters are of fine form and 0.025 m. high. The dimensions of the block are: 1.39 m. long, 0.61 m. wide, 0.315 m. high along the inscribed band.

The inscription, of which this is only a small remnant, was, as may be seen, divided into columns after the fashion of the archaic texts of the Lethaeus. On the border, which remained blank on the right of the last column, were cut at a later date two other inscriptions of *proxenoi* (the lower one by erasing). Of the first this much may be read or supplied:

.

 [πρόξε-]
 [νοι Γο-]
 [ρτυνί-]
 ων α[ύ-
 τοὶ κα-
 ἰ γένο-
 ς.

Of the second only the first name is clear:

Δαμά-
 τριος
 Εὐκ . . .

The reading of our text is as follows:

.	a]κ . .		ωνα
.	ν]ικασ[α]ι		ον ἡγρατται καὶ [π]ροφε-
.	αι τὰ ἄλλ-		ρόντων ἐ(π)ὶ τοὺς δίφρους κα-
a	]αντα κα-		ὶ κρινόντων κῆπιδικαδόν-
5	δονος πα-		των καὶ πραδόντων καὶ συ-
.	στω μνα-		ναπογραφόντων ἐπὶ τὸ-
.	ς ἐπὶ τὸν		νς ἐσ[π]ράττανς καὶ κατα-
.	ι γενέθα		δικαδόντων καὶ κατομ-
ι	] τα τὸν ν-		ν(ύν)των καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα
10	καθέντα (?) . αἰ]ῆγ]ρ[ατται		τ]ηρόντων κατ[ά]περ τω
.			ν ν ιοντω .

The left-hand column gives no entire phrase and almost no entire word.

Of the right-hand column, all that we can say is that it contains juridical enactments regarding procedure, or rules regarding the competency and duties of magistrates or of persons who, without being magistrates, are invested under certain circumstances with their functions as, for instance, in the case of the private arbitrators spoken of in the fragment of the Pythion regarding adoption (*Mon. Ant.* III, No. 19, pp. 31 ff.) and in a fragment of the Lethaeus (*ibid.*, No. 155, p. 308).

Ll. 2, 3. The expression *προφερόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς δίφρους* might be compared with the phrase *καθ' [ἐδ]ος γίνεσθαι* in the fragment of the Lethaeus just cited (No. 155), were it not that in the latter the first two letters of the decisive word have been filled in.

L. 7. *τοὺς ἐσ[π]ράττανς, i. e. ἐκπράκτανς*, 'the exacters.' The same word occurs in the fragment of the Lethaeus, No. 156 of Comparetti, in the dative singular *ἐκ[π]ράκται*.

L. 9. In *κατομν[ύν]των* the stone-cutter has inadvertently omitted two letters.

L. 10. The only two possible supplements to the verb in the imperative are *[τ]ηρόντων* and *[ρ]ηρόντων*. In the first case we should understand as follows: 'let them observe all the other (dispositions) as . . . etc.' The form . . . *όντων* with the *aphaeresis* of the ε instead of the contracted form *-ούντων* is common

in this dialect. [Ϝ]ηρόντων from *φέρω*=*εἶρω* would be connected in meaning with the verb of the same root *έρέω*, from which Eustathius (on *Il.* H 127) derives *έρεύω*=*έρευνώ*; and we know precisely that the *έρευται* are among the magistrates of Cretan cities. See the inscription of Dreros, col. D, l. 5, and the fragment from Hierapytna, l. 18, both published in the *Museo Italiano*, III, pp. 613 and 657 ff., Nos. 36-73, and the magistrates *έρευνιόντες καὶ ῥυθμίζοντες* in the Cretan inscription of Venice, *Mus. It.* I, p. 144, l. 35. The *κατάπερ* needs no explanation. If we read [Ϝ]ηρόντων, the same phrase is found in the archaic fragment which I publish under No. 25, where we read (right-hand column, ll. 2, 3) . . . ἐ *φέροντι κατάπερ*

23. Archaic *boustrophedon* inscription on two contiguous blocks, one of which (right-hand) was a corner block of the primitive building. This has on its other side the decree on bronze coinage which I publish under No. 19, and on its *parastás* is the proxyeny of [M]άλευρος of Oaxos published under No. 12. The *parastás* at the end of the lines of the left-hand block is not inscribed, at least in the part that has been preserved. The two stones, which I here reproduce, somewhat separated one from the other, are complete on all sides, except for the lower right-hand corner of the left piece. The upper edge is slightly worn away above the first line, and so is the lower edge at some points. Their height is 0.365 m.; the joint length of the two inscribed surfaces between one *parastás* and the other is 1.38 m. The height of the letters varies from 0.02 m. to 0.022 m.

We have in this text the most ancient of all treaties between Cretan cities thus far discovered. It contains a convention between the city of Gortyna and that of Rhizene, Πιττέν (Πιττήν),¹ which is evidently the city registered by Stephanus of Byzantium under the name of Πιζηνία,² without saying in what part of the island it was. It is a city of which, probably, only the name was preserved in geographical tradition down to a late period, and which must have disappeared at an early date from history, as it

¹ The letter ζ is not used in the alphabet of this inscription.

² Steph. Byz.: Πιζηνία, πόλις Κρήτης.

has left no other memory in inscriptions, in coins or in authors. I believe that its site should be sought for not far from Gortyna in one of those groups of ruins of very early date, like those of Camares and of Courtes, scattered over the southern foot-spurs of Mount Ida, toward the great valley of Messarà, or along the slope of the mountains on the other side of the valley, between it and the sea, which are still called by the name *ρίζα* (*ἡ κάτω ρίζα*). For even the worship of *Bidas* (Idas), one of the Idaean Dactyli to whom the Rhizenians offer sacrifices, points to a locality that is in, or not far from, the district of Mount Ida.

The writing, spelling, dialect and style of this treaty are the same as those of the Great Inscription of Gortyna and the other texts of the Lethaeus. Several expressions, technical and stereotyped, as it were, of the wording of these laws turn up here also, but we find, besides, novelties and difficulties which I do not pretend in a first edition of this text to be able to explain entirely. (My reading is given on page 206.)

Ll. 1, 2. It must not seem surprising if, in a text drawn up in so primitive and imperfect a style, a construction without a verb is used at the commencement. In many of the phrases which follow the subject instead is wanting, and must be understood or guessed at. Facts of this kind are often met with in the Great Inscription. The meaning of the verb which is here understood is that of *συνέθεντο*, that is to say, 'The Rhizenians, while retaining their own autonomy and their own tribunals, came to an agreement (joined themselves, allied themselves) with the Gortynians, sending every three years to Bidas victims of the value of 350 staters, on the following conditions: ' *ἐπὶ τοῖδ(δ)ε=ἐπὶ τοῖσδε*. The supplement *τρ[ί]τ[οι] [φέ]τει* has been suggested to me by Comparetti. This whole passage may be compared with that of the archaic fragment of Oaxos (*Mon. Ant.* III, pp. 408 ff.), where triennial festivals are also mentioned, ll. 11-14: *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς Κυδαντείοις διδόμε(ν) τ[ρ]ίτ[οι] φέτει ἰς ἀθύματα δυνώδεκα στατήρηνς*. In the same way as the Oaxian feasts of Cydas were called *Κυδάντεια*, so those of Bidas must have been called *Βιδάντεια*. The *β*, which occurs but once in the whole inscription, has the earliest spiral form; but this spiral, unless



- Θιοί. Ἐπὶ τοῖδε Ῥι[ττέν]ι[οι] Γ[ορ]τ[υνί]οις αὐτ[ό]ν[οι] κ' αὐ[τ]όδοικοι [τ]ὰ θ[ύ]ματα παρέκοντες ἐς ρίδαν [τρ]ί[τ]οι [φ]έ[τ]ει τριακατίος στατέραις καὶ πεντέκοντα. στέγαν δ' ἄν κα φοικοδομέσ[ει]]ς ἐ δένδρεα πντεύσει, τὸν φοικοδομέσαντα καὶ πντεύσαντ[α] καὶ πρίαθαι ἀποδοθῆαι. τὸν δὲ σαρπηγόμω· τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον τὸ πο[. . . . δ]αμῶμεν δὲ δαρκεῖαν καὶ κατακρέθαι πεδά τε τὸ στάρτο καὶ πεδὰ τὸν Ῥιττενίον· πλίων δὲ μὲ δαμῶμεν· αἱ δὲ πλίων δαμῶσαι ἐ μὲ κατακρέσαιτο, κσενεῖαι δίκαι [δι]καδέθαι. ἐνεκυσαστὰν δὲ μὲ παρέρπειν Γορτύνιον ἐς τὸ Ῥιττενίον· αἱ δὲ κα ν[ικ]αθεῖ, τὸν ἐνεκύν διπλεῖ καταστᾶσιν αἱ τὰν ἀπλῶν τιμὰν, αἱ ἐν ταῖ . . . ραι ἔ[γ]ρα[τ]ται. πράδδεν δὲ τὸν Ῥιττένιον κοσμον· αἱ δὲ κα μὲ πράδδοντι, τὸνς πρε[γ]ί[σ]το[ι]ς, τούτους πράδδοντας, ἄπατον ἔμεν. τὰ ἐγραμμένα, ἄλλα δὲ μέ. οτ. δὲ ις ἀνπιπαίσοντι τὸ κοῖνον οἱ Ῥιττένιοι πορτὶ τὸνς Γορτύνι[οι]ς προκαλῆν[αι] τὸν κάρκα Ῥιττέναδε ἐν ταῖ(δ) δέκα παρῆμεν ἐ αὐτοὺς ἐ ἄλλους π[ρὸ] τούτων ἀπ[ο]κρυνεῖθαι κατ' ἀγορὰν φευμένους τὰς ἀπίσας καὶ τι τὰν δὲ κρίσιν ἔμεν αἰτερ ταῖς ἀ-

it be the effect of the corrosion of the surface, is so slightly marked that the letter resembles a ρ . In some later Cretan inscriptions we find the epithet *Βιδάτας* written with the β , as it is here, instead of the φ . Cf., in Cauer¹, No. 40, l. 5, *Τῆνα Βιδάταν*, and No. 42, l. 23, [Ττηνός] *τῶ Βιδατάω*, etc.

Ll. 3, 4. All the attempts to read, on either the stone or the impression, and on the photograph, the letters lost after the verb *φοικοδομέσ[ει]* have been in vain. One would expect to have here the subject of the sentence which might be *τις*, or as Comparetti thought, *ἄτερος* (that is, *one of the two*, either a Gortynian or Rhizenian). But the space is too great for *τις*, and the remaining traces on the impression appear not to lend themselves in the least to the word *ἄτερος*. It is not impossible that here, as elsewhere, the subject is lacking and must be understood, and that in its place before *δένδρεα* there should have been another object governed by *πυτεύσει*, as for example: *στέγαν δ' ἂν κα φοικοδομέ- [σει ἔ κάπο]ς ἔ δένδρεα πυτεύσει, κτλ.* As we have in Greek *ἀγρὸν φυτεύειν*, the expression *κήπους φυτεύειν* would be perfectly regular, and as it treats of an irrigated territory, like the valley of Messarà, this clause in regard to planting and cultivating gardens might very well have been especially contemplated in a *συνθήκη*. I must, however, confess that the impression bears some traces of letters which make even this supplement uncertain. The irregularity of the syntax should be noted: the sentence begins in the relative form and continues in conditional form:—‘The house which (one) shall build and if he shall plant [gardens] or trees.’ The *πρίαθαι κ' ἀποδόθαι* of l. 4 would be very obscure if this expression should be literally interpreted. For anyone who builds a house and plants trees may very well sell them (*ἀποδόθαι*), but I do not see how he can buy them (*πρίαθαι*) if they are already his. One can only imagine the case of one who should build and plant (on certain conditions) on domain land or leased ground, as, for example, seems to have been the case with the persons, to whom, according to an inscription of the northern wall,¹ the city of Gortyna rented land in the locality of Πάλα. But in this case no such fact is stated, and

¹ *Mon. Ant.* III, No. 154, p. 295.

perhaps this *πρίαθαι κ' ἀποδόθαι* should be regarded as a stereotyped phrase, like others we shall meet with, by means of which the indefinite concession of the right of purchase and sale is indicated, while the first part of the phrase may be regarded in the broader sense as a concession of the right of *ἐγκτησις*. The only texts that can be compared with this inscription to assist in its interpretation are the treaties between Cretan cities belonging to a later period. Now in these we find among the first concessions which the cities of two allied states make to each other, that of *ἐγκτησις* and of the right of reciprocal purchase and sale on each other's territory, in the same way as here we find that of planting and building and that of selling and buying. Compare the treaty between Priansos and Hierapytna, Cauer¹, 48, l. 11 ff.: *Ἱεραπυτν[ίους] καὶ Πριανσίοις ἡμεν παρ' ἀλλάλοις ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίας καὶ ἔνκτησιν καὶ μετοχὰν καὶ θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πάντων ὅσοι καὶ ἔωντι ἔμφυλοι παρ' ἑκατέροις, καὶ πωλόντας καὶ ὠνόμενος καὶ δανείζοντας καὶ δανειζόμενος καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα συναλλάσσοντας κυρίως ἡμεν κατὰ τὸς ὑπάρχοντας παρ' ἑκατέροις νόμος*. See also the treaty between Latos and Olus (*Mus. It.* I, pp. 144–145, ll. 11–14 and ll. 39–42).

Ll. 4–6. The passage contained in these and the two following lines is important for the mention of the *στάρτος* and of the *σαρταγέτας*, an office which is here mentioned for the first time. But unfortunately little or no new light is hereby thrown on the essence and constitution of the *στάρτος* and on his relations to the tribe. It is said that when the *cosmos* and the *startagetas* go to Rhizene they must *κοσμεῖν* with the Rhizenian *cosmoi*. The verb *ἄγω* (ὅς κ' ἄγει) is here used with the intransitive meaning of 'going.' This clause corresponds to that of the treaties of a later date where it is decreed that the *cosmoi*, who go officially to the allied city, must be received in the *ἀρχεῖον* or in the *prytaneion*, and must sit in the *ἐκκλησία* with its *cosmoi*. See the treaty between Priansos and Hierapytna, Cauer¹, 48, l. 33 ff.: *ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὁ τῶν Ἱεραπυτνίων ἐρπέτω ἐν Πριανσοῖς ἐς τὸ ἀρχεῖον καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθήσθω μετὰ τῶν κόσμων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Πριανσιέων κόσμος ἐρπέτω ἐν Ἱεραπύτνᾳ ἐς τὸ ἀρχεῖον καὶ ἐν*

ἐκκλησίᾳ καθήσθω μετὰ τῶν κόσμων. See also the treaty already cited between Latos and Olus, ll. 31 ff., and that between Hierapytna and Lyttos, Cauer¹, 45, line 3: ὁ δὲ κόσμος τῶν Ἱεραπυτνι[ων] ἐρπέτω Λυττοῖ ἐς τὸ ἀρχεῖον, etc. The *cosmos* and *startagetas* of Gortyna are both treated with equal honor by the Rhizenians. May we hence deduce that the *startagetas* is also a *cosmos*, and that on account of his functions and his name he takes a place among the Cretan *cosmoi* similar to that held by the *πολέμαρχος* among the Athenian archons? Or should the office of the *startagetas* be regarded simply as that of the *ἀρχός* of a *startos*, in the same way as there is an *ἀρχός* of the *agela* and an *ἀρχός* of the *andreion*, and might it not better be compared to the office of the *φυλοβασιλεῖς*, of the *φρατρίαρχοι*, or of the *ἄρχοντες τοῦ γένους* of the Athenian constitution? But it is more than dangerous, it is futile to attempt to build hypotheses upon such meagre material. It is better to wait for new discoveries of which the soil of Gortyna gives abundant promise, allowing us to hope that the constitutional history of Crete may still be in great part recovered by means of its inscribed stones.

Ll. 6, 7. The first phrase in this line is so difficult as to be insoluble to me. It would appear as if the remaining traces of the fragmentary word compels us to complete it as either

οωε[ι]ο[ς] or οωε[ρ]ο[ς], but as the last of these two

words makes no sense, the only restoration left would be *πολέμο*. The use of *πείθομαι* with the genitive, although rare, is found even in classical writers. But what is the meaning of the sentence τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον τῷ πολέμῳ? I leave the explanation to others, noting merely that perhaps the same expression is to be met with in the fragment of the Lethaeus No. 157 (*Mon. Ant. III*, p. 312): [τ]ὸ μὲ πειθόμενον το . . . (l. 5) where we meet also with the fragments of sentences which occur in our text, such as *δαμιόντω[ν]*, etc. Τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον τῷ πολέμῳ is a kind of limiting apposition added to τὸν σπαρταγέταν and to τὸν κοσμῶντα, that is to the subject of the verb *κοσμεῖν* in a manner entirely independent and in a phrase by itself, just as further

on (line 12) we find τὰ ἐγγραμμένα ἄλλα δὲ μέ. It is only the *cosmos* and the *startagetas* με πειθόμενον τῷ πολέμο who has a right to this hospitality and these honors on the part of the *cosmoi* of Rhizene. In return for this, however, they must pay an indemnity of one *drachma*. Δαμιόμεν δὲ δαρκνάν cannot mean here that the Rhizenians must fine them one *drachma*, but that they must make them liable to an indemnity of one *drachma*, a sum which must be spent (consumed, used up) with the *startos* and with the Rhizenians. My understanding is that this indemnity paid by the *cosmoi* or the *startagetas* of Gortyna must be expended in the *syssition* or in the festivals of the *startos* to which the *cosmoi* in charge at Rhizene belong, and in the *syssitia* or festivals of the Rhizenians in general. What follows is clear, except κσενεῖλαι δίκαι (κσενεῖα δικά) the meaning of which here, I think, cannot be exactly determined.

Ll. 8, 9. A Gortynian may not seize pledges from the property of a Rhizenian (present himself as holding a pledge); if he do so, and is defeated after a law-suit, he must pay a fine equivalent to double the value of the property or thing pledged, as it is written in the The word which is here written may be read $\Sigma\Lambda\varphi\Theta\Xi$, $\Sigma\Lambda\varphi\Theta\Omega$ or $\Sigma\Lambda\varphi\Omega\Xi$. Comparetti prefers ἴθραι, which may be explained, as regards the form, as an equivalent of ἔδρα (ἔζομαι-ἔζω, ἰζάνω); but the meaning remains uncertain. The expression τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἐνεκύρων occurs also in the inscription of the northern wall, No. 154, line 5 (*Mon. Ant.* III, p. 293).

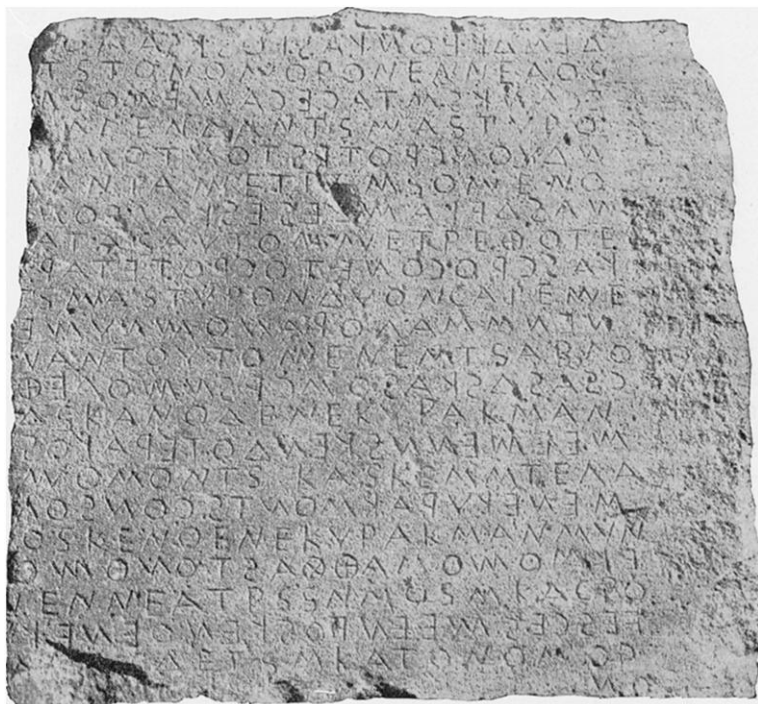
Ll. 10–12. Those who shall exact the amount of the fines from the persons condemned are the *cosmoi* of Rhizene. The word κόσμος, as is the case frequently elsewhere, is here almost always used in the collective sense. If these do not exact it, but in their stead the πρεῖγιστοι demand it, the latter shall not be fined for so doing. Τὰ ἐγγραμμένα ἄλλα δὲ μέ is an addition and a limiting explanation of the word πράδδεν of line 10. Let them exact what is prescribed and no more.

Ll. 12–15. I find no other supplement, which corresponds to the lacuna and to the meaning which is here required, than αὐτῆς, although, according to the dialect, we should rather ex-

pect *αὐτῶν*. Compare the Great Inscription, Col. IV, line 3. The meaning of the new verb *ἀμπιπαίω* appears to be the same as that of *ἀμφισβητέω*. If the *κοινόν* of the Rhizenians shall have any new difference with the Gortynians, or if any new dispute shall arise between the two cities, the herald shall invite, within ten days, the Gortynians (it is understood, of course, certain Gortynian delegates) or others who shall represent them (perhaps citizens of Rhizene charged to do so by the Gortynians), to present themselves within ten days at Rhizene. *Τὸ κοινὸν οἱ Ῥιπτένιοι* is like *ἡ πόλις οἱ Γορτύνιοι* in No. 3 above. In this *ἀ[τ]τιάσα* or *α[ι]τιάσα* we find the name of a consulting, deliberating or judging body hitherto unknown. Admitting the second restoration to be correct, the word should be connected with the verb *αἰτιάω, αἰτιάομαι*; it would be the name, as Comparetti also believes, of the accusing assembly before which the Gortynians are invited to appear and to *ἀποκρίνεσθαι*—but the inscription which is here abruptly broken off gives us no clue to a clearer understanding. For the participle *φευμένας*, compare the compound *καταφελμένον τῶμ πολιατῶν*.

24. Large block of local limestone, 0.75 m. high, 0.79 m. wide. Its thickness is irregular, 0.20–0.26 m. Letters 0.023–0.025 m. high. The right border is not inscribed, but it looks as if some inscription on it had been cancelled.

The writing continued on the left of another block, but the part which is lost is very small. Lines 9–10, 13–14 and several others, where supplements are evident and clear, show that the missing letters at the beginning or at the end of every line on the left-hand side are two or three in number, or an average of five letters for every two lines. The lacunae in the text can be completely supplied from lines 7 ff. Nevertheless, especially on account of the nature of the subject which is not sufficiently treated of in the remaining archaic texts, there are still a number of difficulties which appear to me insoluble without the help of some new discovery.



The following is my reading of the inscription, with a few explanatory remarks on its content:

-
- 1-2 δενδρέον καὶ φοικίας ο τι τὸν ὁμόρον ἐννέα οἱ
ἐπάνκιστα πεπαμένοι[. κ]αλὲν δ' ἀντὶ μαιτύρο-
- 5-6 ν δυνὸν πρότριτον τὸν ἀ[. σ]αυτα μετρ[ε]σιόμενο-
ν· αἱ δὲ κα μὲ εἶει, καλίων [αἱ ἔγρ]αται, αὐτὸς μετρέθω τε
- 9-10 καὶ προπονέτο προτέταρ[τον ἀν]τὶ μαιτύρον δυνὸν παρέμε-
ν ἐνς ἀγορὰν ὁμνύμε[ν δὲ ἔ μ]ὰν τοῦτο μέν ἐστι ἀ βλο-
- 13-14 πιαὶ δικαίος πρὶν μολέθ[θαι τὰν] δίκαν, ὃ δ' ἐνεκύρακσαν
μὲ ἔμεν· νικῆν δ' ὅτερά κ' οἱ [πλῖες ὃ]μόσονται. κ' αἶ κ' ἐς
στέγα-
- 17-18 ς ἐνεκυράκσονται πονίον[τος μ' ἐν]οικῆν δ' ἐνεκύρακσαν, συν-
έκσομόσασθαι τὸν ὁμό[ρον τὸν] ἐννέα τρίνυς, οἷς κα προ-
- 21-22 φείπει μὲ ἐνοικῆν δ' ἐνεκ[ύρακ]σαν· αἱ δὲ τίς κα τὸν ὁμόρ-
ον

It is a fragment of one of those detached laws on *ἐνεκυρασία*, or seizure of pledges, which were afterwards codified in the large collection cut on the buildings of the Lethaeus, as had already been indicated by the fragments discovered in 1885 and now confirmed by the fragments which I publish under No. 28. The present article concerns, if I am not mistaken, the sequestration or replevin, executed by error or abuse, on trees, houses and objects which do not belong to the person on whom it is intended to carry out the sequestration.

It therefore treats of fields or houses that are rented, or of houses inhabited by *φοικεῖς*: in the first, there are trees planted by the lessees or by the *φοικεῖς* and which belong to them; in the second there is furniture also belonging to the occupants for the time being of the house. The seizure made against the owner of the house or of the field cannot be extended to what belongs to him.

Four judicial parties come upon the scene as actors in the inscription: first, those who caused the seizure, that is, those who *ἐνεκύρακσαν* (ll. 13–14, 19–20) or *ἐνεκυράκσονται* (l. 17); second, the person against whom the seizure is made, that is to say, a person whose property is sequestered or seized by the above, *ὃ ἐνεκύρακσαν* (*οὐ ἐνεκύραξαν*) (ll. 14, 18; 21, 22); third, a person who *καλεῖ* (*καλίον*, l. 7, *καλῆν*, l. 4) (he may be, as Comparetti has suggested to me, a *diaetetes* or arbiter); fourth, finally, there is a party whose character is very obscure, named in the word *ἀ σαντα*, in lines 5 and 6, which I am unable to complete. Should we recognize in this person the lessee or the person who appeals against an unjust seizure? The letter which follows the *α* appears, from what remains, to be a curved letter, like a *π*, an *ι* or a *θ*. Finally, there are the concomitant parties, or outside parties, who act as witnesses, and these are two *μάρτυρες* of some sort and a group of *μάρτυρες* elected among the *ὄμοροι*, that is to say, those who are neighbors of the property or the houses pledged; these at first are nine in number (line 2) and afterwards they appear in a subdivision of three (ll. 19–20).

Ll. 1-3. The first complete period of the fragment is that beginning with *καλῆν* on line 4. The three preceding lines are the close of the period which began on the block above, which is lost. The subject is seizures made on trees or on a country house; at least that is how I understand the word *φοικία*, as in the Great Inscription, in contrast to *στέγα* (see line 16¹). It is difficult to supplement lines 1-2. Perhaps we should read *ὁ[μόσον]τι* and the meaning might be: [‘If disputes arise in regard to pledges on] trees or on country houses, those nine among the neighbors who have the nearest property [shall swear (in judgment)’].

Ll. 4-11. ‘(The arbiter?) shall invite into the presence of two witnesses, with three days’ notice, the *ἀ . . . σάντα* to proceed to the operation of *μετρῆσθαι*, and if he come not when called in the manner prescribed, let him carry out the act and issue an order, with four days’ notice, before two witnesses, that he must present himself in the *agora*.’ In the absence of the last part of the upper phrase, it is impossible to give exactly the meaning of the verb *μετρῆσθαι*, which here appears first as a participle and then as imperative, referring to two different persons.

Ll. 11-16. The part which is here wanting in the formula of the oath occurs in the new text of the Lethaeus which I give under No. 28, lines 9-10, and from this passage I supply the missing portion in our text. The same sentence occurs in both texts, and it is evident that it was a formula or the beginning of the stereotyped formula of an oath prescribed in certain cases. But, as in the case with what follows, it is quite elliptical and seems as if it should be understood as: *ἐ μὲν τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ σὺν ἀβλοπίαι καὶ δίκαιος*. Therefore, when the parties have been gathered together in the *agora*, the oath is taken, which consists of the words: ‘Thus is the thing rightly (done) and with no harm and (that which has been seized) does not belong to the person for whom the mortgage was made.’ This should be done *πρὶν μολέσθαι τὰν δίκαν*, but from the whole of the context and from the phrase which follows it is evident that the de-

¹ Great Inscription, Col. IV, line 32 ff. (*σ)τέγανς μὲν τὰνς ἐν πόλει and ἐπὶ κόραι φοικῶν (οἰκῶν ἐπὶ χώρᾳ).*

cision made by the jury by a majority of votes has executive force; hence I cannot explain how, after this, there can be any question of starting a suit. Might it not be possible to translate the phrase *πρὶν μολέσθαι τὰν δίκαν* 'instead of making a law suit'? It would seem as if the law, before allowing the damaged party to make an accusation of disturbed possession, seeks to reconcile the two parties through a private judgment of arbiters. But I must confess that to me this entire part is extremely obscure.

The word *ἀβλοπία* (= *ἀβλαβία*) is already known as a Cretan expression from the inscription of Oaxos, No. 184 (line 10), in *Mon. Ant.* III, pp. 396 ff., and from the Hesychian gloss *ἀβλοπές · ἀβλαβές. Κρήτες*. The supplement *ἄτερὰ κ' οἱ [πλίες ὁ]μόσονται* is furnished by the decree of bronze coinage already published under No. 19.

Ll. 16–20. Clearer is the content of these lines. 'If the sequestrators take a pledge from a city house, saying (he who rents it?) that the person on whom they make the sequestration does not dwell (in that house), let three of the nine neighbors swear together (with the person who affirms this), to whom this person will declare beforehand that he on whom the seizers have enforced the sequestration does not dwell in it.'

Ἐς *στέγας* for *ἐκ* (ἐξ) *στέγας* is a usage already known. The subject of the genitive absolute *πονύοντος* is understood, as frequently happens in these laws. It appears to me that it must be he who rents the house and whose furniture the sequestrators have seized, believing that it belongs to the owner of the house. But on the other hand it is not impossible that the person *δ ἐνεκύρακσαν* should be the owner himself: 'He on whom the seizure has been made saying that he does not live in that house.' *Συνεκσομόσασθαι*: we have here another case of the use of *coniuratores*.

There begins in line 20 another period which, however, does not end on this block, the last line after the *ον* of *ὁμόρον* being empty. It is evident that the stone-cutter, finding the space narrow, continued the inscription on the top of another column. I do not believe that in the primitive wall there was beneath

this another series of blocks, because its dimensions prove it to be a block belonging to the *orthostates*.

25. Remnants of archaic *boustrophedon* writing, with letters like those of the preceding texts, found on a large block reproduced above under No. 15. The surface of this block, partly scraped, was used at a later date to receive the lists of *proxenoi* which I published under that number. The archaic remnants belong to two columns.

Right column:

1. πράδο[ντι
- 2-3. ἐ φέροντι κατ[άπερ
- 4-5. ι τὸνς μαίτυ[ρανς
- 6-7. ν νικασεῖ αρ
- 8-9. ν τινας εκοιε
10. ετουτ

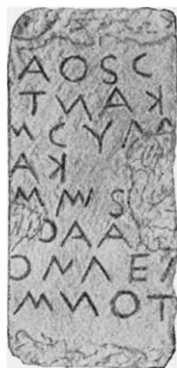
We find here the traces of some phrases which recur in the non-archaic texts reproduced under No. 22.

Left column:

- 1-2. προφει[π
- 3-4. ς φεкас[τ
- 5-6. κ ἐκσομ[οσ?
- 7-8. κσε]νίοι? με
- 9-10. κα]λ τὸ μ[αίτυρος?
- 10-11. ομορο
- 12-13. ατον [ἐγρ]α[ττ]αι ο . . .
- 14-15. οντι ε καρταῖπο[ς] ἐ ἄλλο
- 16-17. μαι[τ]υρσι [δ]νοῖς . . .

The content of this text is completely hidden from us. The mention of the *ὄμοροι* (lines 10-11) would seem to refer to a subject similar to that treated in the preceding text. Perhaps seizures or 'sequestrations of animals: αἱ κα πρόβατα ἐνεκν-ράκσ]οντι? ἐ καρταῖπος ἐ ἄλλο . . . (ll. 14-15); but it is all uncertain.

26. Small fragment, 0.32 m. high, 0.15 m. wide, 0.20 m. thick. Letters 0.025 m. high.



After the *pi* of the first line, which is preserved, there is room for another letter, but no trace of writing remains.

3 . . . τᾱ]ς πνλ[ᾱς

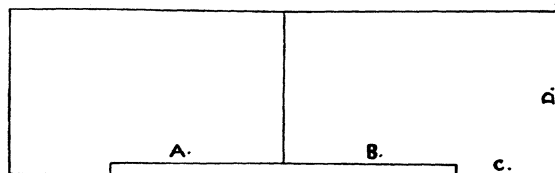
5 . . . κο]σμί[ον?

The above is the epigraphical material which came to light during the excavation: only a small part, it is true, of a great mass of texts of various periods which covered the walls of a very ancient temple. But what this temple may have been, it is impossible to say at the present time. None of the texts discovered give any indication of the place where it stood.

Far less numerous than the inscriptions and almost entirely without importance, because belonging to a later date and probably to Roman restorations of the primitive building, are the architectural fragments that were found. Any attempt to reconstruct, even partially, the archaic temple and its decorations must hence be abandoned. However, we should not neglect what little can be gathered of the characteristics of this construction from the inscribed blocks themselves. An examination of the dimensions of these stones proves that they belonged to walls built, like those of the Pythion, with a high *orthostates* at their base surmounted by alternate courses of headers and stretchers or, as the German architects call them,

Läuferschichten and *Binderschichten*.¹ The width of the blocks of the stretcher courses shows that the width of the wall was the same as at the Pythion, namely between 0.585–0.59 m., a dimension which corresponds almost exactly to two Solonian feet and which was probably used at Gortyna as the standard measurement in temple constructions of this period and in this system. The heights of the various parallel courses which are represented among our material were 0.28 m., 0.315 m., 0.365 m., 0.48 m.

One remarkable peculiarity of the walls in this temple, at least of the side walls, is that disclosed by those blocks from whose inscribed surface there projects a slight *parastás*. From the two blocks which contain the treaty between Gortyna and Rhizene (No. 25), which are shown by the inscription to be contiguous, we can see that these *parastádes* followed each other along the wall at stated distances and we are able to measure this distance, viz., 1.39 m. The following diagram gives a horizontal section of the two blocks joined together:

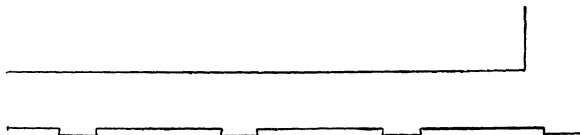


A B—Treaty between Gortyna and Rhizene (No. 23).

C—Proxeny of Maleuros (No. 12).

D—Decree on bronze coinage (No. 19).

It is possible with their help to reconstruct the profile of the walls and of one corner of the building which must have had the following ground-plan:



¹ The courses of headers are formed of large upright blocks arranged in pairs width to width. The courses of stretchers consist of single slabs laid face downward and filling the entire width of the wall binding together the double blocks below them.

The monotony of the flat surface of the outer walls was broken by these projecting vertical bands which took the place that should have been occupied by the half columns in a pseudo-peripteral temple. One might suspect that the construction of these semi-pilasters, with their slight projection in the place of the half-columns, was determined precisely by the idea of making use of these walls as a great book on which to inscribe public acts. The semi-columns would divide the surface into so many long isolated pages, but, on the other hand, they would destroy a great deal of space that might be utilized for the inscriptions. On the other hand the projecting bands, while leaving to the wall its architectural character as pseudo-peripteral, might, at the same time, be covered over their entire flat surface, as they actually are, with writing, thus increasing the space available for the reception of laws and decrees which the city desired to confide to the guardianship of the sanctuary.

We have here, therefore, the remnants of another public hall of records to be placed by the side of the archives of the Pythion discovered ten years ago. Traces of yet another mural collection, certainly or very probably also templar in character, are furnished by the fragments in the field of Risvàn-Agà at Mitropolis. These last fragments, taken together with other inscriptions found in the last few years in the same village, suggest to me a conjecture of great importance for the topography of Gortyna, a conjecture which will, I believe, soon become a demonstrated fact. It is that the present village of Mitropolis occupies the site of the ancient quarter of the *metoikoi* and of the *apeleutheroi*, called *Latosion*. In fact, it was there that was found by Fabricius the fragment which speaks of the Latosians (*Mon. Ant.* III, p. 324), and it is there also that were found the act of emancipation No. 133 and the fragment No. 137 of the *Museo Italiano*, Vol. III, in which mention is made of an ἀπολαγάζωντος; we have also seen that the wall-blocks from our tentative excavation, except the one relating to sacrifices, refer precisely to slaves and emancipations. They probably covered the walls of the temple of Latona, which gave its name to the quarter.

III.

Near the Great Inscription.

The work undertaken near the Lethaeus by the Syllogos with the object of uncovering the Great Inscription and taking a plaster cast of it,¹ and afterward the work carried on by the local authorities and by the Syllogos itself, in the construction of a roof to protect it permanently from the weather, led to the discovery of some new fragments of the inscriptions cut upon the buildings in that place. During the very first days of my stay in Crete I was able to recopy entirely the fragment No. 180 of the *Monumenti Antichi*, III (cf. No. 27 below), which in the year 1885, when it was first seen by me, was only partly visible because it remained set into the retaining wall of the river. At the same time Professor S. Xanthoudidis, secretary of the Syllogos, in directing the later work carried on by the Museum of Candia, found and recopied another small fragment which I publish under No. 30. But the most important texts came to light after I had left Crete.

These are two wall-blocks similar to those of the Great Inscription, also with a curved surface corresponding to a circular wall of the same radius. They must, therefore, be also considered as belonging to the primitive circular building and as remains of those parts of it which were demolished or made over when the edifice was converted into a theatre during the Roman period. Professor Xanthoudidis at once made most accurate copies and impressions from which the facsimiles given under Nos. 28 and 29 were made. Copies and impressions of these two blocks were also sent to the brothers Baunack in Leipsic who will publish them in the *Philologus* contemporaneously with my publication.

27. The fragment which I copied is still walled into the exterior of the circular building on the side toward the river. It is 0.23 m. high, 0.34 m. wide. The letters are arranged στοι-

¹ A complete plaster cast of the Great Inscription of Gortyna is now to be found in America in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

χηδόν and are 0.023–0.025 m. high. Before the late investigations, only two letters at the right end of each line were visible; and now, even with the whole surface uncovered, nothing can be made out of its contents.



The inscription belongs to the third period of Gortynian writing, namely, to that marked by the acceptance of the common Ionic alphabet, while the *boustrophedon* arrangement of the lines is still retained. Unfortunately, even here we have no decisive example as to whether this alphabet contained the ω ; but we do find the ξ , which was wanting in the other fragments of this period which have hitherto come to light. Compare *Mon. Ant.* III, pp. 325–330 and 341.

28. (PLATE X a.) Large block 1.45 m. long, 0.30 m. high and 0.39 m. thick. The letters are the same as those of the Great Inscription.

This block contains part of three columns belonging to the laws on the *ἐνέχυρα* which were also codified on the walls near the Lethaeus. The *ductus* of the writing and, I might almost say, of the hand, are those of the Great Inscription. These fragments, as also Nos. 156 and 159 of the *Mon. Ant.* III, are therefore a part of the principal text, while the fragments relating to the same subject which we find on the northern wall (*Mon. Ant.*, block 154) should be considered as an appendix or as the *novellae* added to the main *corpus*.

Right column:

.
 τὸν] ἐνεκυρ-
 άκσαντα
 καλίουτι ᾧ-
 5 ι ἔγραπται, α
 καὶ προπονέτ]ο προτέταρτ-
 ον ἀντὶ μαιτύ[ρον δυν(ῶν) παρῆ-
 μεν ἐνς ἀγορ]άν, ὁμνύμεν δὲ
 εἰ μὴ τούτο μ[έν ἐστι ἀβλοπ-
 10 ίαι δικαίος πρὶν μ]ολέθαι τ-
 ἀν δίκαν]

It is easy to see that the part of these lines that is preserved contained an article on procedure which, at least beginning with line 6, is only a repetition of that which we have already seen in the inscription published above under No. 24 (lines 9 ff.). The supplementary portion, which we supply by means of this inscription, gives to the column precisely the width which it should have, that is to say, the width which can be ascertained from the perfectly preserved lines of the middle column, consisting on an average of 20–21 letters. Lines 1 and 5 must also have contained something very similar to lines 4 and 8 of text No. 24, but they cannot be completed with equal certainty.

I make the following restoration of the middle part:

. τα] ἀ[νδ]ρ[ὸς]
 ἐλευθέρῳ ὅτ[τ' ἐ]νς πολέμο-
 ις κ' εἰ, πλὰν φέμας κ' ἀνπιδέ-
 μας, ἰστὸς, ἔρια κ' ἐρίθει-
 5 α φεργαλεία, σιδάρια, ἄρατ-
 ρον, δυνὸν βοδὺν, κάπετον, μ-
 ύλαν, ὄνον ἀλέταν, ἐ(κ)ς ἀν-
 δρείῳ ὅτ' ὁ ἄρκος παρέκει
 κατ' ἀνδρείον· εὐνὰ ἀνδρὸς
 10 καὶ γυναικ[ὸς]

The loss of the beginning of this period is much to be deplored. It is difficult to restore not the verb, which must have

expressed the action of pledging, but its circumstantial complements. The subject is, if I am not mistaken, the foreclosure of mortgages on the property of a free man while he is absent from his city, having gone to the war. On account of the exclusion of the wardrobe and personal adornments (*πλάν φέμας κ' ἀντιδέμας*), it would seem that the other objects of which a list is given could be seized. But among these we find the loom, the ox-yoke, the plough, the hand-mill stones, objects which we can hardly believe subject to sequestration. For it is known that the greater part of Greek legislators ὅπλα μὲν καὶ ἄροτρον καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἐκώλυσαν ἐνέχυρα λαβεῖν πρὸς δάνειον (Diodorus, I, 79). The only possible explanation would therefore be that the clause beginning with *πλάν* is not exclusive but additional, that is: [*'if a mortgage is made on the property of such a man these should be excluded from the sequestration*], besides the wardrobe and the personal adornments, the loom, the wool, the iron instruments for weaving, the plough, the ox-yoke, the *κάπετον*, the mill-stones and the *ὄνος ἀλέτας*.'

L. 1. Perhaps [*κρέματ*]α ἀνδρὸς ἐλευθέρου.

L. 2. Difficulties are not wanting in this line. The ὅττ' ἐνς is clear in the squeeze, where traces of the ε are also visible. We have here a strange use of the ἐνς (εἰς) with the dative in place of ἐν, unless the s be regarded as a careless interpolation of the stone-cutter who also committed an error on line 7, writing ἐπς in place of ἐκς. The ὅττ which precedes must have the value of ὅστις or of ὅτε. I do not see how this form can be the equivalent of ὅστις; but on the other hand ὅτε in Cretan is ὅκα. Might it be possible to suppose that there was also a form ὅτα as in Aeolic (*ὅτα, ὀπποτα, τότα*)? The double τ in this case might be the effect of a false analogy, as in *δαττῆθαι* for *δατῆθαι*.

Ll. 4, 5. Here also we find the promiscuous use of forms with or without the ν in the accusative plural, *ίστός* (*ιστούς*) and, in line 7, *μύλανς*. In *ἐρίθεκνα* for *ἐρίτεκνα* we have another example of the transposition of the aspirates. But it might also be possible (although more difficult) to transcribe *ἐρίθεχνα*;

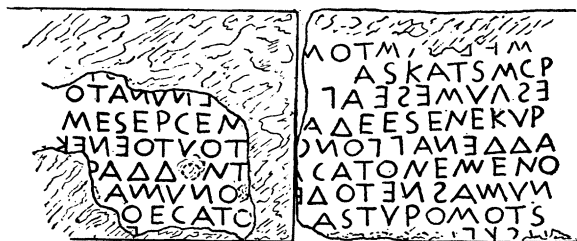
compare the form *θύχα* already cited. Note also, in the place of *ἄροτρον*, the form *ἄρατρον* (Latin *aratrum*).

Ll. 6, 7. The *ὄνος ἀλέτας* is the upper or movable crushing stone or pestle. The *μύλα* (*μύλη*) is the lower immovable stone on which the *ὄνος ἀλέτας* is turned. It is evident that more than one of these were originally kept in each house, in order to have one in reserve in case of necessity. *καπητόν* is explained by Hesychius as *παράβλημα ἀλόγων* (compare Ammian. Marcell. 22, p. 208: *pabula iumentorum, quae vulgo dictitant capita*). But this is not applicable here. We might rather—since the *δυγός* (*ζυγός*) of the oxen is mentioned immediately before—find here the meaning ‘halter’ (compare *κάπη*), but it might be still more correct to read *κάπετον* (accusative of *κάπετος*) and to explain this word by comparing it with *καπέτις* = *χοῖνιξ*, that is to say, a measure or receptacle for grain which might well have been connected with the mill.

Ll. 7–9. From these lines it is evident that it was possible to seize some objects or furniture which a private citizen kept in the *andreion*, but that it belonged to the *ἀρχός* of the *andreion* to authorize this act or to present or to put out those things that could be sequestrated. Ἐ(κ)ς ἀνδρείο: compare, in the inscription No. 24, ll. 16, 17, αἱ κ' ἐς στέγας ἐνεκυράκσονται.

Ll. 9, 10. Another sentence began here. Apparently it decided on the possibility of sequestrating the matrimonial bed.

The missing part of the lines of the left column is to be found on block 156 of the *Monumenti Antichi* (III), discovered by me during the excavations of 1885 and re-examined during the last expedition. For the convenience of the reader, I here reproduce, side by side, the two sections containing the complete column:



In this fragment the case treated of is that of a lender who, through old age, or for other reasons, has become incapable of going in person to the place to make a seizure. In such a case, if another person goes in his place to execute the seizure, this person, inasmuch as he thereby performs a legal act, shall not be subject to a fine.

ς [φέκα]στο[ς
 αἴ κά τις πρ-
 εἴγυς ἐι ἐ ἀλ[λος (μ)ἐ νυνατὸ-
 (ς ἐι ἔρπεν) [ἐ κ]α δέει ἐνεκυρ-
 5 ἀδδεν, ἄλλον π[ρὸ] (τούτο ἐνεκ)-
 ([υρ]ἀδδοντ[α] ἀ]πατον ἔμεν· ὁ-
 νυμαινέτο δ[ἐ] (τὸ) ὄνυμα) . . .
 (. . . οεπα τὸ)[μ]αίτυρος ὅτι-
 μι κ' ενθ[?]

L. 3. It appears to me that it is possible to supply only ἐ ἀλ[λος, etc., *i. e.* ἄλλως, 'or if for any other reason he is not in a condition to go.'

L. 4. I supply ἐ κα, that is, ἦ κα, which is equivalent to ἀ κα, 'where.'

What follows is interrupted, and I am unable to supplement it. It would seem to prescribe the manner in which the person who goes to make a seizure for another is to prove that he has received authority to do so. But it is uncertain whether it is the agent who is to report the name of his principal before a witness or *vice versa* (the principal to report the name of his agent).

This block, as is evident from its height, belongs to one of the narrowest courses of the early inscribed circular wall, namely those which are represented in the Great Inscription by the last series at the end and by the second, counting from the top downward.

The following block, which is slightly thicker, belongs, on the other hand, to a series whose measurement is not exactly represented by any of the courses of the Great Inscription, but which corresponds to the second course of that part of the

circular building south of the main opening toward the river which had been left without inscriptions (see *Museo Italiano*, II, p. 567). Variations of more or less importance, even in the height of blocks belonging to the same course, are to be met with, however, even in the Great Inscription.

29. (PLATE X b.) This block is broken on the right and on the left at the bottom, and has lost some of its edge both above and below. It is 0.96 m. long, 0.345 m. thick. The letters are like those on the preceding block, but our facsimile, owing to an inadvertence, has been reproduced on a larger scale than the preceding inscription.

Right column :

οισος κο
. οδιερο σύκο-
ν δύο, γλεύκιος τ[ρί]υς· ὁδ [δέ
κ]α μὲ ὄλαν [ἐ]κς ἐμίνας. αἱ
5 εὐροιεν οἱ καρποδαῖσται κα-
ρπὸν ἀποκεκλεμμένον ἔ μὲ
δεδαῖσμένον, τόν τε καρπὸν
πέρουσι, ἅπατον ἔμεν κ' ἐπεστ-
εῖσαι τὸ ἀπλόον καὶ τὰ ἐπιτίμ-
10 ια αἱ ἔγρατται. καρπὸ ὅτι κα
κατομόσονται ἀργυρο . . πρ-
. ονατ . .

Left column :

τα
. εὔ]ρου-
τι οἱ κ[αρποδαῖσται
. δὲν ὅτ-
5 τα δατι
. ι ἔ ἀνε-
ύρουτ[ι
. αἱ ἔγ]ραττ[α-
ι

The content of this fragment is new. It treats of the functions or attributes of certain *produce-dividers*, *καρποδαῖσταί*, in whom I do not know whether we should recognize fiscal magistrates or private arbiters selected for the occasion here in question, and which it is not easy to determine with certainty. It is not, however, improbable that we have here a division of an inheritance with the intervention of *δατηταί*.

The only article in this column that is fully preserved (lines 4–10) prescribes that if the *καρποδαῖσταί* find produce (probably grain), hidden (stolen?) or not divided, and they carry away this produce, they shall not be liable; and whoever has hidden or stolen the produce shall pay its full value beside the prescribed fines: I do not attempt to explain the rest.

30. Small fragment, 0.265 m. high, 0.15 m. wide. Letters equal in size to those of the preceding blocks.



Line 3.	. . .	πρ]οφε[ιπ?	
Line 4.	. . .	φ]οικίλο[ς?	
Line 6.	. . .	φοικοδο]μῆσαι	
Line 7.	. . .	πρ]οφειπα	
Line 8.	. . .	ἐ]γραττ[αι	

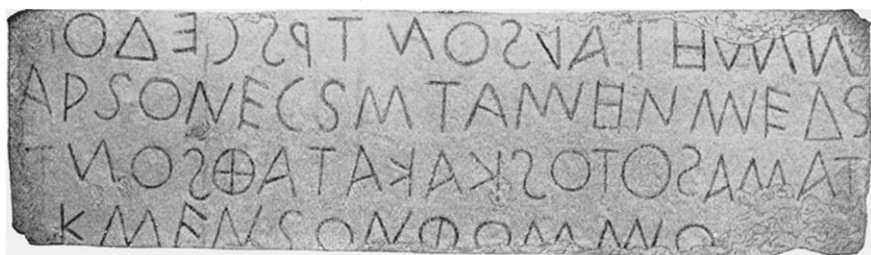
IV.

Haghioi Deka.

I shall close with a few archaic and non-archaic fragments copied here and there in the houses and gardens of the village of Haghioi Deka.

31. Block of limestone, 0.29 m. high, 0.92 m. long, walled into the stable of Christodoulos Alezizaki. Letters, 0.045–0.06 m. high. This is probably one of the blocks of the ancient cella of the Pythion which, having been discovered by the peas-

ants before or after my excavations during 1885–87, was sold as building material.



I do not attempt to explain this fragment and limit myself to giving a transcription of it:

.
 ν μήτ' αἶον τρίπεδο[ν?
 αριον ἐπιστάμην μεδι
 κατασ]τᾶσαι? ὅτοι κα καταθίωντ[ι
 κσέμιον φ'σμο[ν

32. Small fragment of a limestone slab, with cornice along its upper edge, in the garden of Manoli Iliaki. It is 0.19 m.



high, 0.19 m. wide, 0.055–0.06 m. thick. Letters, 0.027–0.05 m. high. The lettering instead of being horizontal descends toward the left.

. νας or μ]ας π

33. Fragment of a block from the Pythion in the garden of



Manoli Iliaki. It is 0.285 m. high, 0.24 m. wide, 0.12 m. thick. Letters, 0.065–0.075 m. high.

34. Fragment of the usual stone from the Pythion in the same garden. 0.215 m. high, 0.13 m. wide. Letters similar to those of the decree on the *apeleutheroi* (*Mon. Ant.* III, No. 148)—0.03 m. high.



L. 4. Perhaps *ία]ρεύ[ς]* or some form of the verb *ίαρεύω*.

35. The following fragment belongs to the Lethaeus period. It is a block of the usual limestone, 0.165 m. high, 0.56 m. long, walled into the outside of the *καφφερείον* of the Kouridaki brothers. The text is divided into columns with very narrow intercolumniations. Of the central column there remain five lines, but they are badly damaged. Of the left column, there remains the final letter (first or last) of every line; of the right-hand column, one end also remains but with a few more letters. Little or nothing can be made out of the remains of this text. I give a facsimile of it with a few notes of readings, leaving it to others to attempt to do more.



Right column :

ἐπικα
 κσ]ήνιο-
 σ παν
 ι κόσ-
 μος η

Centre column :

Lines 1, 2. Between the H and the Δ there was, perhaps, an ancient flaw, not inscribed, hence :

μηδὲ [τ]ὰ θίν[α ᾠ-
 υπερ πρόθα.

Here, it appears, a section terminates. The one following begins a new line, but continues the writing in the same direction.

Line 3. αἴ [κ]α π.ο[ς] ε μνηο ἦ
 πι.ος . . . ἄλλη δ' ἐπ-
 έρκοι ἄλλοι . εμο[ν]?

36. Fragment of a block of limestone found in the field of Joannis Pirounakis at the *Vigles*, and now kept at his house in Haghioi Deká.

This contains a few remnants of a treaty between Sybrita and Gortyna, and together with the treaty between Gortyna and Lappa, which was published in 1885 by M. Hausoullier in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* (IX, pp. 6 ff.) ought to belong to one of the stelae placed between the columns of the Pythion. (See *Mon. Ant.* I, pp. 31, 32.) Only a few sentences, almost stereotyped in



this class of documents, can be obtained; the rest is altogether lost.

Lines 1–3 seem to contain the injunctions relative to the public reading of the treaty which the *cosmoi*, according to the other texts known to us, were called upon to perform every year at a certain festival. [Ἀναγινωσκόντων δ]ὲ τὰν συνθήκαν Γόρτυνι μὲν ἐν τοῖς (names of the festivals) π[αρίοντων Συβρι[τίων,] etc., or something similar. Cf. the treaty between Priansos and Hierapytna (Cauer¹, 48, ll. 40 ff.), and other Cretan treaties.

- L. 4. . . οἱ τόκ'] ἀεὶ κορμῖοντες. . .
 L. 5. . . αἱ δὲ μὴ] παραγγέλαιεν: 'if they do not give the προπαραγγελία or notice of the reading,' etc.
 L. 6. . . ἡ τὰν στάλ]αν μὴ στήσαι[εν? . . .
 L. 8. . . Γορτύνιοι τοῖς Σ[υβριτίοις? . . .
 L. 9. . . τᾶ(ι) πόλι.

Here follows the clause concerning modifications, exclusions and additions which might be made in the treaty in time to come. Cf. the inscriptions in Cauer¹, No. 43, ll. 84 ff., lines 6, 7; No. 48, lines 74-75; *Mus. Ital.* III, p. 613, No. 36, etc. The more complete expression is that which I have already proposed in explaining the fragment of the *Mus. Ital.* (*ibid.*). It reads as follows: αἱ δὲ τί κα δόξει ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις κοινᾷ βωλευσαμέναις διορθῶσαι ἢ ἐπιγράψαι ἢ ἐξελεῖν, ὅτι μὲν κα ἐξέλαιμεν μήτε ἔνορκον μήτε ἔνθινον ἦμεν, ὅτι δὲ κα ἐπιγράψαιμεν ἔνορκόν τε καὶ ἔνθινον ἦμεν. Here a few variants may be observed: instead of the usual ἔνθινον καὶ ἔνορκον ἦμεν or ἔστω, the imperative of another verb appears, which, it seems, can only be supplied by ὀρ[κίζέ]θω=ὀρκιζέθω, ὀρκιζέσθω.

- L. 13. . . ἔστ]ω? δόμεν δὲ κ[αὶ . . .
 L. 15. . . Seems to be ἀττάμιο[ι or ἀτταμίος = ἀζάμιοι, ἀζαμίος, a word which occurs in several of the decrees of Teos.
 L. 17. . . στασάντ]ων τὰς στάλ[ας . . .
 L. 18. . . πρὸ τὰς . . .] νίας νεμονητ[ας]; perhaps [Κορων-]ίας.

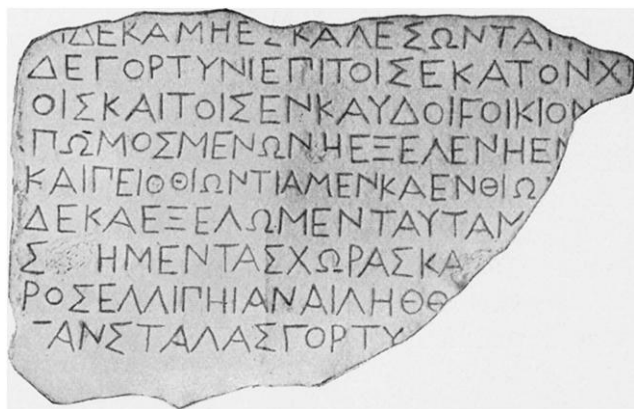
A month by the name Κορώνιος or Καρώνιος existed also in the calendar of Cnossos. See *Mon. Ant.* I, p. 53.

The last five lines contain the oath—ὄρκος—of the Gortynians or of the Sybritians or of both together. The names of the divinities that remain are: [Δί]α or [Τῆν]α Κρηταγενία l. 19; κ' Ἀπέλλωνα Πύ[θιον] or Πύ[τιον] l. 20; Ἀθαναίαν πολιδόχον l. 21; καὶ Νύμφαν l. 22.

37. Still more insignificant are the remains of another treaty, which, if complete, would have been of considerable importance because it is earlier than the preceding, and because it

contains the first epigraphical mention of Caudos. This is a small island south of the Cretan coast opposite the ancient city of Phoenix, known especially in connection with the disastrous trip of St. Paul in the Cretan Sea (*Acts of the Apostles*, xvii, 16). Ancient geographers called it variously *Gaudos* (Plin. H. N., XX, 5), *Κλαῦδος* (Ptolem. III, 17, 11) and *Claudia* (*Tabula Peutingeriana*). This inscription shows that its real and earliest name was *Καῦδος* in the form that was given it by Strabo, XVII, 22, p. 838, in the genuine reading discovered a few years ago by Father Cozza in the palimpsest codices.¹ On the ruins of the ancient city or town which existed in this island, consult Spratt, *Travels in Crete*, Vol. II, p. 277.

This fragment also comes from the site of the Pythion, and was brought to Candia after my departure. The facsimile which is here reproduced was made from an impression carefully taken for me by the secretary of the Syllogos, Professor S. Xanthoudidis, who says that on the right-hand upper side the stone preserved its primitive surface and is only bevelled off. It is probably, like the preceding, a part of one of the large blocks which formed the stelae of the intercolumniations of the temple. Its measurements are: height, 0.24 m.; length, 0.39 m. The letters bear traces of rubrication, and are 0.018–0.020 m. high; the O and the ⊙ are usually smaller.



¹ See my note under No. 167 of the Cretan Inscriptions, published in the *Mus. It.* III, p. 718.

The reading is clear and presents no difficulties whatever, but the lost portion of the right end of the lines is too considerable to be supplied, all the more so as this text varies somewhat in its formulas from the other known treaties.

The first two remaining lines appear to have contained the short clause regarding the invitation to read the treaty:

αἰ] δέ κα μὴ ἐ[σ]καλέσονται
δὲ Γόρτυνι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατὸν χ

The following lines refer to eventual modifications to be introduced in the treaty. In so far as the sense is concerned, they may be completed more or less as follows:

οἰς καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καύδοι φοικίον[σι· αἰ δέ τί κα δόξηι τῶν ἐ-
πωμοσμένων ἢ ἐξελεῖν ἢ ἐ[ν]θέμεν, αἶ κα κοινᾷ βωλεύσονται
καὶ πειθίωντι, ἃ μὲν κα ἐνθίω[μεν] ἔνορκα καὶ ἔνθινα ἡμεν, ἃ
δέ κα ἐξέλωμεν, ταῦτα μ[ή]τε ἔνθινα μ[ή]τε ἔνορκα ἡμεν, καὶ . . .
σ ἡμεν τᾶς χώρας κα

L. 3. Perhaps preferably ἐν Καυδοῖ, with the pleonastic ἐν, for Καυδοί.

Ll. 4, 5. The expression ἢ ἐ[ν]θέμεν], which is made certain by ἐνθίω[μεν] of line 6, is brachylogical. We must evidently understand ἢ (ἄλλα) or ἢ (ἄλλα ἀντὶ τούτων) ἐνθέμεν. Πειθίωντι = πεισθίωντι, that is, 'if they deliberate in common, and come to an agreement, agree in their decision.'

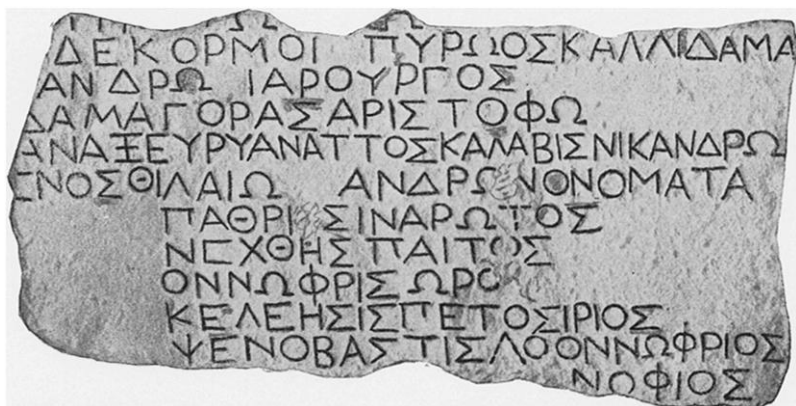
What follows is less clear:

ρος ἐλλίπηι ἀναιλῆθθ[αι
τ]ἀνστάλας Γορτυ

Ἀναιλῆθθαι is certainly used here with a meaning different from that in which it occurs in the Great Inscription. It probably has the meaning of taking away (destroying) a stelè or removing from it some clause. For the fusion of the two *sigmas* in τὰν στάλας, i.e. τὰνς στάλας, cf. ταῖστέγαις, Αἰθαλενστάρτος, etc., in the Great Inscription and ἐστάλαν (ἐς στάλαν) in *Mon. Ant.* I, pp. 49, 50, c, line 19.

38. Fragment of the usual local limestone, used in recent times as a water conduit and for this purpose hollowed out at

the back. It is 0.22 m. high, 0.53 m. long, 0.22 m. thick. Letters 0.013–0.015 m. In the house of Georgios Iliakis.



. . . . οἷ]δε? κόρμοι· Πυρῶος Καλλιδάμα,
 ἀνδρῶ ἱαρουργός
 Δαμαγόρας Ἀριστόφω,
 Εὐρύ]αναξ Εὐρύναντος, Κάλαβις Νικάνδρῳ
 5 ἐ]νος Θιλαίῳ, ἀνδρῶν ὀνόματα.
 Παθρί[η]ς Ἰναρῶτος
 Νέχθης Παῖτος
 Ὕοννωφρις Ὡρο[υ
 Κελέσις Πετοσίριος
 10 Ψενόβαστις [᾽Αθ]οννώφριος?
 νόφιος

The beginning of the inscription is lost. The first readable line begins by naming a college of *cosmoi*, evidently of Gortyna, some of whose names are lost in the breakage of the left-hand side of the stone. Among these names is also that of the *iapovpyγός*, as in the Gortynian inscription No. 135 of *Mus. It.* III, p. 696.

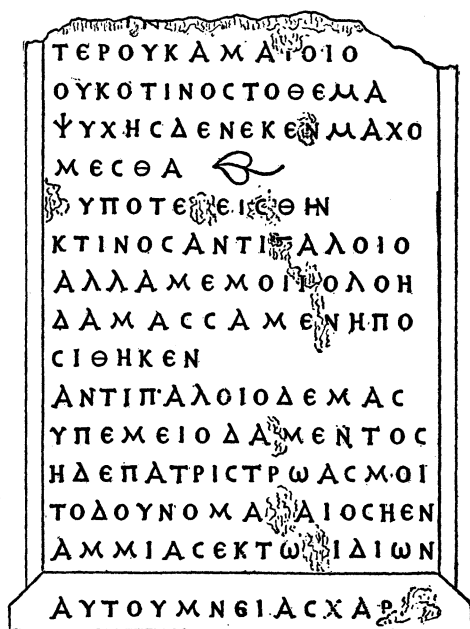
The other lines contain the beginning of a catalogue of Graeco-Egyptian names. They are probably the names of mercenary soldiers, or of persons belonging to some mission

sent to Gortyna by one of the Ptolemies who had entered into political relations with the city. A similar fragment with Egyptian and Greek names, but much more mutilated, was found also in the excavation of the Pythion in 1887, and was published in the *Mon. Ant.* I, p. 59, No. 4.

39. Two fragments of the usual limestone which fit together. Combined height, 0.39 m.; width, 0.10 m. Letters, 0.013–0.015 m. high. In the garden of Manoli Iliaki.



40. Stelè of the usual local limestone, with the upper part wanting, walled in above the door of the balcony in the house of Manoli Alezizaki. It is from the village of Ambeluso, which lies to the west of the acropolis of Gortyna, but I believe it to have been discovered in the acropolis itself. It is 0.67 m. high, 0.465 m. wide. Letters of late Roman period, with traces of rubrication, 0.035 m. high, but slightly smaller in the last three lines.



Arranged metrically, the inscription reads as follows:

- | τέρου καμάτοιο
οὐ κότινος τὸ θέμα | ψυχῆς δ' ἔνεκεν μαχό | μεσθα
5 οὔποτ' ἐ[ρ]είσθην | (ἔ)κ τινος ἀντιπάλοιο,
ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὀλοή | δαμασασμένη πο | σὶ θῆκεν
10 ἀντιπάλοιο, δέμας | ὑπ' ἐμείο δαμέντος.
ἡ δὲ πατρίς Τρώας μοι, | τὸ δ' οὔνομα [Γ]άιος ἦεν.
15 Ἀμμίας ἐκ τῶ[ν] ἰδίων
αὐτοῦ μνείας χάρ[ιν].

It is an inscription in verse dedicated by a certain Ammias in honor and memory of a gladiator who died in the circus, apparently by sudden or accidental death, after having defeated his adversary.

Interesting and infrequent is the use, in place of the pentameter, of the dactylic pentameter catalectic in *dissyllabam* alternating with the hexameter. Comparetti has suggested a passage of Hephaestion, where this metre is mentioned and called

Σιμμύειον (Hephaest. VII, 1, p. 21). The few remaining fragments of this metre belong, however, to melic compositions that are not elegiac.

L. 6. I see no way of removing the difficulty, except by supposing that an ϵ has fallen away before the κ and by reading $(\epsilon)\kappa$, which would here take the place of $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}$. It is not entirely impossible that this was written very close to the cornice of the stelè, and that, for this reason and on account of the surface being damaged, it escaped my eyes when I copied the inscription in a somewhat uncomfortable position. The gladiator boasts of never having been overcome by any adversary, and having been worsted only by destructive fate which placed him at the feet of his opponent after he had already overcome him in the body. The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\varsigma$ (line 10) should be understood as an accusative of specification connected with $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, *i. e.* vanquished in respect to his body by me.

41. Small fragment of limestone, with a cornice below. It is 0.22 m. high, 0.20 m. wide, 0.10 m. thick. Letters irregular, 0.015–0.02 m. high. Roman period.



It appears to be a catalogue with proper names in the nominative and accusative.

FEDERICO HALBHERR.

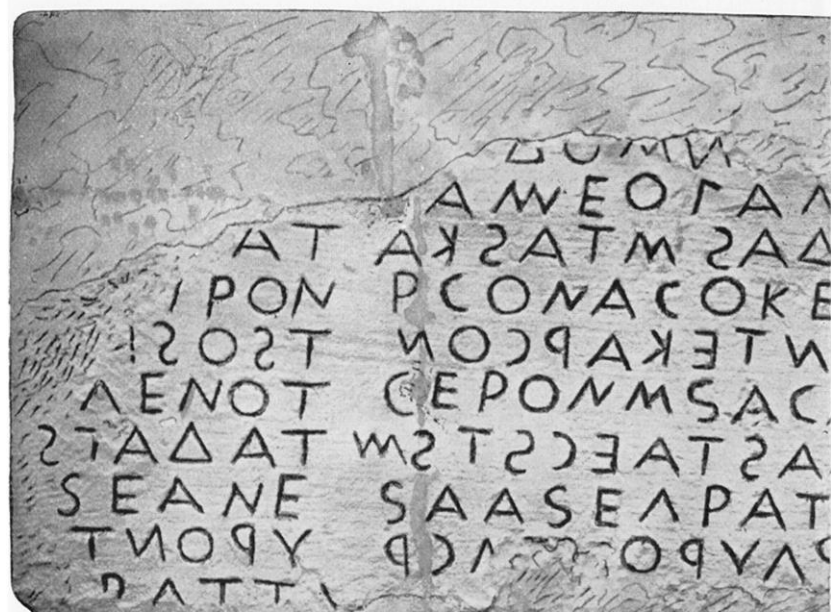


INSCRIPTION FROM GORTYNA

See pp. 202-204 (No. 22)



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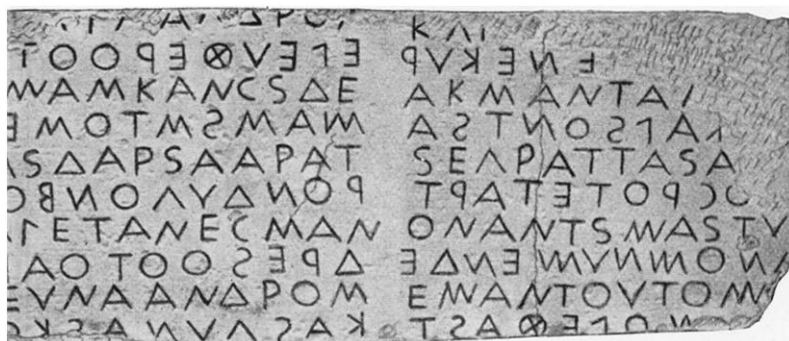


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ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIO

a. See pp. 221-

b. See pp. 226,



NS FROM CORTYNA

226 (No. 28)

227 (No. 29)